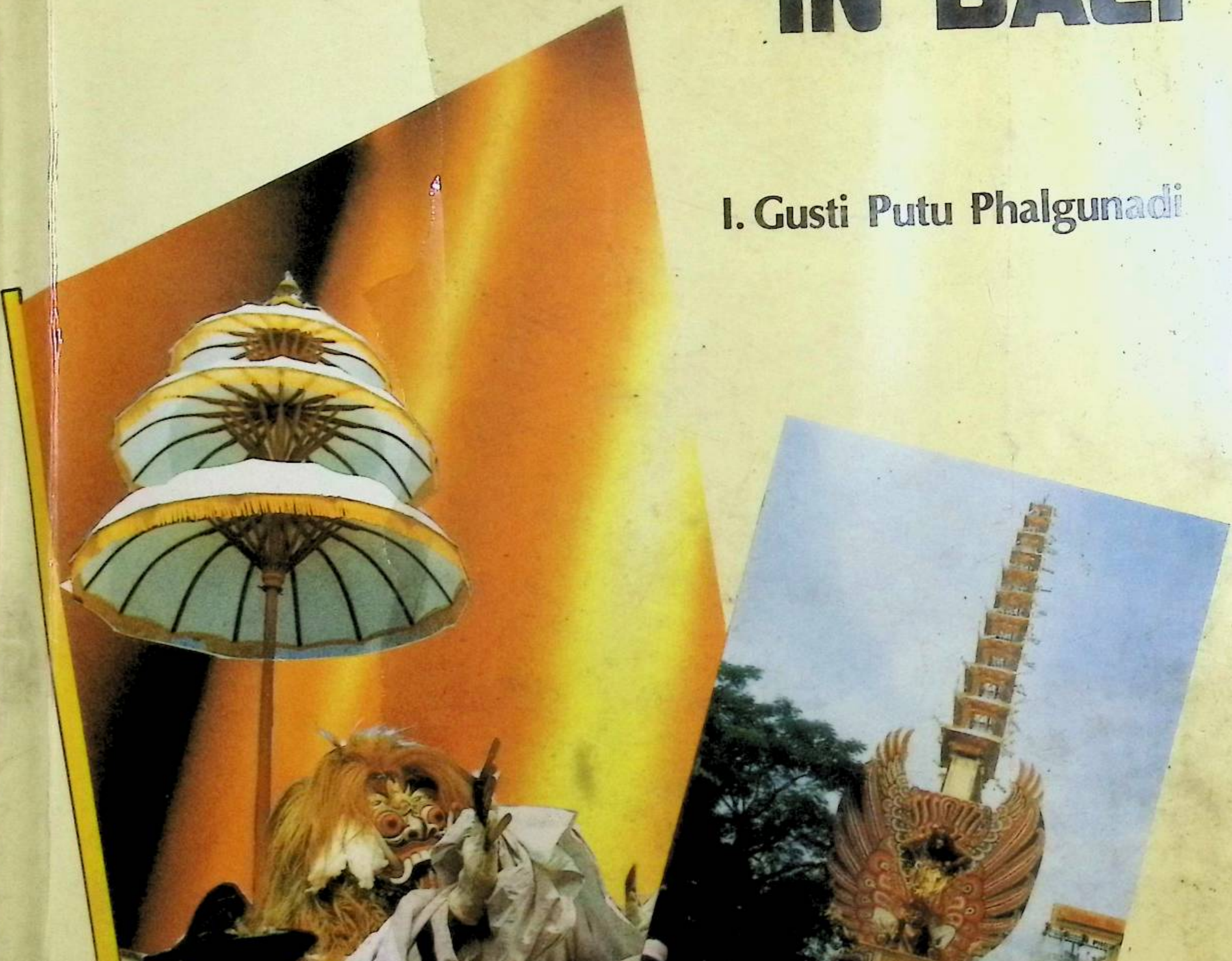
EVOLUTION OF HINDU CULTURE IN BALI

I. Gusti Putu Phalgunadi



The History of Hindu Culture in Bali dates back to the last few centuries before the Christian era. In the first chapter, indegenous Balinese culture and its people have been discussed. The Pre-Hindu people of Bali were of strong spiritual nature and this provided the base for future evolution of Hindu culture.

In the second chapter an attempt has been made to trace back the influence of the Hindu culture. Before the eighth century one finds Bali under the direct influence of the southern part of India. There is a close similarity in costum the use of traditional dress, etc. between Bali and south India.

The next chapter tries to delineate the political history of Bali. When Śrivijaya and Sañjaya dynasties were arising in the seventh century, Bali, too, was emerging as a powerful state. By the end of the eighth century Bali was captured by the Hindu Mataram king, central Java. But in the ninth century again she started to assert herself. During this period arose the Varmadeva dynasty which ruled till the end of fourteenth century when Bali was once again conquered by the Majapahit ruler. But with the decline of Majapahit empire, Bali declared her independence which ended with the arrival of the Dutch.

In the fourth chapter, the discussion centres around Balinese Hinduism. One finds the caste system prevalent there put it is much more liberal. In Balinese Hinduism, Bali is supposed to be the centre of the universe. Lord Sadaśiva sits on a golden lotus which has eight petals pointing in eight directions. The next chapter narrates about the classical Balinese language and Sanskrit being used as official language. The whole body of Kavi literature is essentially religious in character. The earliest Kavi work available is *Rāmāyana-Kakavin*, *Mahābhārata*, and *Purāna* are some of other Kavi works composed during this period.

In the sixth chapter Balinese art and architecture have been discussed. The most prominent feature of Indo-Balinese architecture is to be found in the large tanks in the front of the temples. Another characteristic trait has been the use of Kirtimukha. The different types of shrine architecture - Meru, and Padmāsana are to be seen here. The Padmāsana shrine architecture derived from the concept of Lingayoni was adopted from Majapahit. One does not see much progress in the field of cave architecture in Bali.

Rs. 1200/-

U.S.S.70

EVOLUTION OF HINDU CULTURE IN BALI

(From the Earliest Period to the Present Time)

Evolution of Hindu Culture in Bali

(From the Earliest Period to the Present Time)

By

DR. I. GUSTI PUTU PHALGUNADI

SUNDEEP PRAKASHAN
DELHI

First Published : 1991

@ : Dr. I. Gusti Putu Phalgunadi

ISBN : 81-85067-65-1

Published by : Ashish Singhal for SUNDEEP PRAKASHAN
6191/1, Dev Nagar, Karol Bagh
New Delhi-110 005

Laser Typeset by : ABC Enterprises, 6 Rajdhani Enclave
New Delhi-110 034

Printed by : Efficient Offset Printers
B-62/13, Naraina Industrial Area, Phase II
New Delhi-110 028

Oṁ
Namaḥ Śivāya sarvāya deva devāya vai namaḥ ।
Rudrāya Bhuvaneśāya Śivarūpāya te namaḥ. ।।
(A Balinese prayer dedicated to Lord Śiva)

Foreword

It is my privilege to write this Foreword to *The Evolution of Hindu Culture in Bali*, written by Dr. I.G.P. Phalgunadi, a zealous researcher from Bali (Indonesia) who has taken up as a mission of his life to bring out the many-sided cultural achievements of the ancient Hindus who were responsible for the spread and development of Brahmanic culture in Indonesia (Java, Bali, Sumātrā and Borneo) in the beginning of the Christian era.

The story of the spread and dissemination of Indian culture beyond the frontiers of India is a thrilling story of the Indian missionaries (both Brāhmaṇa and Buddhist) whose brilliant exploits in those far-off lands constitute a fascinating chapter in the cultural history of the world. Unfortunately, the Indian records have nothing to say about the activities of those noble sons of India. It is from the epigraphic and literary records of those lands that we know how their selfless work had built up a common civilization for nearly three quarters of the Asiatic continent.

As we know, after the fall of the Majapahit empire of Java (the last Hindu kingdom of South-East Asia) at the hands of the conquerors. Hindu culture sought refuge in Bali which played the same role as the last refuge of Hinduism in Indonesia as Tibet did for Buddhism in India. In fact the Brāhmaṇisation of Bali was so complete that even now the traveller finds himself surrounded by a real Indian atmosphere. According to Swellengrebel, "many recent Balinese books treat religion, philosophy, ethics, worship all in the Hindu vein... There is little possibility today of a flight to Islam". The influence of Hinduism on Balinese life is so tremendous that even today if a traveller happens to be admitted in to the house of a local priest (Pandaṇḍa) he will witness a regular *sandhyā* (one of the names of Goddess Durgā or evening) prayer, he will hear Sanskrit *mantras* recited in the Indian fashion accompanied with the regular *mudrās* (mystic postures). But, at the same time, he will be greatly surprised to find that those people do not understand the Sanskrit texts which they read and chant.

It is heartening to note that my beloved pupil Dr. Phalgunadi devotes his present work to the analysis of the different cultural elements of Hindu culture in Indonesia in general and those in Bali in particular from the earliest period to the present day. With painstaking scholarship and broad vision he has made the subject alive and kicking. It is a remarkably comprehensive work which presents a glorious cultural epoch in a critical and scientific way. I have no doubt that this scholarly work will receive due appreciation from the learned historians all over the world.

— PROF. UPENDRA THAKUR
A-2, University Campus
Bodh-Gaya, India

- The present book by Dr. I.G.P. Phalgunadi is a very useful work showing an accurate picture of the evolution of the Hindu culture in Bali. It deals with the Balinese culture before the arrival of the Hindu influence and shows how the Balinese successfully tried to mingle it with the Hindu culture. The author is of the opinion that Bali was Hinduized in the early years of the Christian era. The Hindu culture migrated from the coastal areas of India. Dr. Phalgunadi has also discussed the vexed question of the political history of Bali.

The Balinese kingdom continued to be quite powerful till the third quarter of the eighth century A.D. It was reduced to the position of a vassal at the end of the eighth century. But it again rose to power in the beginning of the ninth century and remained strong for more than five hundred years. For a short period Bali came under the domination of the Majapahit. During the sixteenth and seventeenth century A.D. Bali was practically divided into nine autonomous kingdoms. In the first decade of the present century Bali was conquered by the Dutch. Thus the last Hindu kingdom in Indonesia came to an end.

The book contains interesting chapters on Balinese Hinduism, Literary growth, and Art and Architecture of Bali. It is an interesting point to note that the Hinduism which was transplanted in Bali has remained more conservative than anywhere else. As in India, the art in Bali was mostly the handmaid of religion. The artists lavished their skill and resources mainly on religious monuments and images. Temples in Bali were meant to serve as the rest house for the Gods.

In the field of sculpture Bali was under the impact of two mighty cross-currents of art. First was Indian and the second was Javanese. The Javanese influence became dominant after the Majapahit conquered Bali.

— DR. B.C. SINHA

Prof. Head of the
Deptt. of Ancient Indian History
Culture and Archaeology
Gurukula-Kangri University
Hardwar (India)

Preface

THE work in hand entitled *Evolution of Hindu Culture in Bali* is a critical analysis of the cultural, social, religious and political aspects of the Balinese history which is directly or indirectly indebted to its Indian counterpart. Unfortunately, the sources at our disposal have been extremely scarce. At the very outset it should be pointed out that our sources have suffered from various lacunae like those being scarce, scanty, scattered and contradictory; this is like skating on this ice. Nevertheless, an attempt has been made to be sincere and secular. We have tried to interpret the various historical facts in such a way that Indians as well as Indonesians will find some sort of liking and disliking for work. But we have strictly kept away our personal, as well as national, prejudices.

The work has been divided into six Chapters and it covers a wide range of variety. Chapter one offers a cultural background of Bali. Chapter two gives a detail about the first Indian immigrants. Chapter three throws light on the political history of Bali. Chapter four throws light on the Balinese Hinduism. Chapter five makes us acquainted with the Balinese literary growth and Chapter six discusses her art and architecture.

This humble cursory attempt on the widest possible canvas has to be only an outline of some salient themes and essential directive features of the course of socio-religious evolution in Bali beginning from the earliest to the present times. It is meant only to present a comprehensive and broad perspective in a nut-shell, and topics are dealt with, within the limits of obvious constraints, so as to act as a guide and precursor of further discussions by the interested scholars.

In preparation of this work. my sincere thanks are due to my Supervisors, Prof. Dr. B.C. Sinha, Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Gurukula Kangri University, Haridwar, U.P. (India), who not only suggested the topic to me but also guided me through various phases of the present work. I am extremely grateful to Prof. Dr. Upendra Thakur, Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian and Asian Studies, Magadh University, Bodhgaya, Bihar (India), who in spite of his busy schedule got time to revise the whole work and made valuable suggestions. I boldly confess that, but for their inspiration, assistance and guidance, this work could not have seen the light of the day. However, I accept my responsibility for any errors or misstatements.

I am gratly indebted to Prof. Dr. Lokesh Chandra, a Member of Parliament, for his valuable suggestions made to me from time to time. I am also grateful to Mr. K.T.S. Sarao, Lecturer in Kirori Mal College, Delhi University, and Mr. Vinod Tyagi, a post-graduate scholar from the Department of English, University of Delhi, for their help in preparing this work. Thanks are due to His Highness Ida Anak Agung Chokorda Gde Ngurah Pamechutan XI, the former king of Pamechutan, Badung, Bali (Indonesia), who inspired me to take up studying history as a career. I am also indebted to Mr. Gokul Behari Mohanty, M.A., LL.B., Advocate, Cuttack, Orissa (India), for his kind affort in seeing through the typed manuscript and general improvement.

I would like to express my thanks to the Librarians of the Gurukula Kangri University, Haridwar; Delhi University and International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, for providing me with rare books of relevant materials, journals and references required in the preparation of this work.

I am also immensely thankful to Prof. Dr. Ida Bagus Mantra, the Governor of Bali (Indonesia); Mr. Gde Puja, M.A., S.H., Directorate General of Hindu and Buddhist Society, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Jakarta, Indonesia; Dr. I. Gusti Agung Gde Putra, Director of State Religious Affairs, Denpasar, Bali; Dr. Iḍa Bagus Oka Puniaatmaja, Member of Indonesian Parliament; Mr. Tjok. Suddharta, M.A., Member of Parliament (Indonesia); Dr. I. Gusti Putu Rai Andayana, Mayor of Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia; Dr. I. Gusti Ktut Mayun, Puri Batan Kemoning, Denpasar, Bali (Indonesia); Mr. T. Sree Kumaran, Techilote House, Olavanna village, Calicut, Kerala, India, and Junior Technical Officer in Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, for their constant encouragement in completing this work.

I am grateful to Mr. Mas Agung, President of Gunung Agung P. Ltd. (Indonesia), who donated a type-writer for my use. I am also thankful to Mr. I. Gusti Kompyang Gede, the Treasurer of Sinar Harpan Ltd. Jakarta (Indonesia); Drs. I Gusti Putu Oeidyana, Teacher in S.T.M. Surabaya, Indonesia; Mr. Anak Agung Oka Narayana Putra, Puri Gerenceng, Denpasar, Bali (Indonesia); Mr. I. Gusti Putu Yudi Arnawa, S. H. Puri Majarashmi, Denpasar, Bali (Indonesia); Miss. Anak Agung Ayu Ciptawati Alit, Puri Gangga Sagara. Sanur, Bali (Indonesia); Mr. Anak Agung Ngurah Asuji, and Dra. Savitri Elias, Lecturer in University of

Indonesia, Jakarta, for their kind help in supplying the required materials related to my topic of research.

I will be failling in my duty if I do not mention the Ministry of Education, Government of India, who granted me a scholarship under the General Cultural Scholarship Scheme. I am also thankful to Late Ida Devata Anak Agung Made Gde, Late Ida Devata Anak Agung Putu Oka Manek, Late Ida Devata Anak Agung Made Oka and Late Devata Anak Agung Ktut Gde, who, though no longer alive, yet, set examples that have always guided me and will continue to do so in future also.

I am deeply grateful to Dr. (Mrs.) Sharada Rani, International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, Mr. Ram Sharan Gupta and Mr. Shyam Sharan Gupta, the owners of Hotel Panama, Jessa Ram Road, Haridwar, U.P., my Dharma-pita Mr. Rajan Pangari and Dharma-mata Mrs. Pangari, at village Tikiripaḍa, Bhapur District Puri, Orissa, have sustained me all these years, like my real father and mother, whom I have lost long time ago, who provided me with free accommodation during my stay in India. I am thankful to all those who helped me directly or indirectly in the completion of this work.

Last but not the least, my hearty thanks and gratitude go to Mr. Anak Agung Bagus Lejer, Prof. Dr. I. Gusti Ngurah Gde Ngurah, Mr. Ida Anak Agung Ngurah Mayun, Mr. Ida Anak Agung Made Putra, Mr. Ida Anak Agung Ktut Agung, Mr. Ida Anak Agung Putu Alit Murdayasha and Mr. Ida Anak Agung Ktut Bagus Wedagama, Mrs. Anak Agung Ayu Rai Sudhani for their moral and emotional support which are so essential to a man in my situation. I am grateful to Mr. Ashish Singhal Properitor of M/s Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi for publishing my book with great excellence.

New Delhi, 10 September 1984 — **I. GUSTI PUTU PHALGUNADI**

A Note on the Pronunciations of the Words

THOUGH diacritical signs can be very confusing to readers, it is necessary to have them, because without using them it is difficult to bring out the correct pronunciation of Sanskrit, Balinese and Indonesian words. These signs however have been used to the minimum in this work.

The sound 'Sh' for example, as in 'Shiva' and 'Pushpa' are represented by 'Ś' and 'Ş' respectively. The indications of the signs used in the work are as follow :

á and a as in calm (It is always long in Sanskrit, Indonesian and Balinese respectively).

a dn e or é as e in ern (In Sanskrit, Indonesian and Balinese respectively).

ē and e as e in prey (In Balinese and Indonesian or Sanskrit respectively).

ai as in aisle

ī as in machine

i as in bit

ū as in rule

u as in bush

au as in cow

o as in go

ṛ a short vowel; as ri in river

ṭ as in tense

ḍ as in dean

v and w as in window (In Sanskrit and Balinese or Indonesian respectively).

h is to be pronounced as in hot

ṁ or ṅ and ng as ng in sings (In Sanskrit and Balinese or Indonesian respectively).

ñ and ny are pronounced as ñ in Señorita (In Sanskrit and Indonesia or Balinese respectively).

c and ch is as in chapel (In Indonesian or Balinese and Sanskrit respectively).

however chh is pronounced with the tongue behind the gums of the upper teeth.

Common and well-known proper names like ‘Bali’, ‘Hindu’ or Java, etc. are not given any diacritical marks.

Abbreviations

IHQ : Indian Historical Quarterly.
IIA : The Influences of Indian Art.
JAIH : Journal of Ancient Indian History, Calcutta.
JAS : Journal of the Asiatic Society.
JASB : Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
JIH : Journal of Indian History.
JPASB : Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JSAS : Journal of South-East Asian Studies.
JRASGBI : The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
JRAS : Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.
SAHC : Studies in Asian History and Culture.
SEAP : South East Asian Perspectives.
SKT : Sanskrit.
U : Upadesa.
WHD : Warta Hindu Dharma.

List of Illustrations

1. Three month ceremony. This ceremony is performed after the new born is three months old.
2. Cremation ceremony performed in a gorgeous style. The Balinese cremation rites are particularly famous for their cremation towers which are exceptionally high.
3. Cremation ceremony—Lambu (bull) Sarcopagoes.
4. A picture of a Śiva High-Priest performing Pooja. On his forehead is tied, the holy Kusa while his hair are tied in a knot over his head.
5. A girl robed in traditional religious attire performing Pooja.
6. A girl being initiated by the padanta Stri (Brahmani) at the time of the Rajaswala ceremony.
7. A Śiva High-Priest performing Pooja while sitting in 'Padmāsana' In front of him is placed the Pooja Samagri.
8. Sandstone carving of Lord Viṣṇu with the Chakra in his hand.
9. A Śiva High-Priest before the Pooja starts.
10. A village Priest, a Pemangku.
11. A Mahayanist Buddhist Priest performing Pooja.

12. A Ṛṣi Bhujanga, the Priest of the Senggu Clan.
13. The statue of God Bramhā inside the Bramhā shrine in the Prambanan temple in Centra Java.
14. Sandstone carving of Lord Bramhā with the lotus in his hand.
15. The traditional ceremonial dress used by all Hindu women.
16. The Swastika sign marked at the entrance of High-caste Hindu House-holds.
17. A picture from the Gerenceng family temple (Griha-devata) showing wooden carvings c Lord Śiva, painted in Golden colour.
18. The traditional ceremonial dress for the caste Hindu women. The crown so prominent i the picture, is made of gold.
19. The former King of the Pamechuttan dynasty Late Rājadevatā Ida Anak Agung Chakord Ngurah Gedé Pamechutan.
20. The image of God Viṣṇu inside the Viṣṇu shrine in the Prambanan temple in Central Jawa
21. Bhīma-image.
22. Chandi Bentar (split-gate).
23. Gedong-shrine.
24. Ganeśha.
25. A devotee receiving the holy water after the Pooja.
26. Bedugul-shrine.
27. A Śiva High-Priest engaged in Samadhi. A 'Trishula' is clearly visible on his crown
28. Bhattari Mandul.
29. Portrait of statue of Mahendraduttā as Durgā at Kutri.
30. A statue of Rākṣasa.
31. Prithivi-shrine.
32. A modern style statue of Goddess Durgā.
33. Tooth filling ceremony. The picture shows a caste Hindu girl being carried by a commc person to the traditional place where this ceremony is performed. An umbrella is hoiste over her.
34. A wooden carving in a temple. The story depicted in the carving belongs to the Ādiparv (Mahābhārata) and the episode is that of Lord Viṣṇu cutting the throat of demon Rahu.

35. The statue of Lord Indra with a whip, symbolic of the Vajra, in his hand. People generally believe it to be the statue of Mahārāja Bhaṭṭāra Shakti the founder of the Pamechuttan dynasty.

36. The new born baby, as it attains the age of three months, is brought out of the home made to touch the earth given solid food for the first time. (Annaprāsana ceremony).

37. The traditional ceremonial dress for caste Hindu males.

38. The statue of the Dvarapala infront of a temple.

39. A Balinese reading the Holy Rāmāyaṇa (written on palm-leaves).

40. A Balinese Ballet Dancer.

41. Puppet show: Arjuna (left) and Kṛṣṇa (right).

42. The Patola design woven in cloth.

43. Wedding ceremony.

44. Sanggar Surya-shrine

45. Main gate to a temple .

46. Kori Agung (Gopuram) the Main entrance of a temple at Bali.

47. Cremation ceremony—funeral pyre being lit.

48. Śhiva Liṅga (Bedahulu).

49. Offerings for Prāyaschitta ceremony.

50. Preparations for the Pooja (Śivaratri).

51. Funeral procession heading towards the cremation ground. The dead body is put inside the cremation tower.

52. Offerings for the Upanayana Ceremony.

53. Offerings for 'Śiva Pooja'.

54. An old devotee performing the daily worship.

55. Masakapan Ke Tukad - a ceremony performed after the new born is six months old. This ceremony is popular particularly in South Bali where it is performed on river bank. Tiny boats are floated in the river to mark this occasion.

56. Devapooja ceremony. In the picture is shown a Pandita holding 'Ghanta' in his hand.

57. Rajaswala ceremony performed when girls attain the age of puberty. In the picture the girl is shown as robed in traditional clothes and the Pandit performing the 'Pooja'.

58. Mamukur Ṛsi-Bhojana ceremony, a part of the flower cremation. The puspasarira or the flower effigy is put inside the multi-towered structure shown in the picture.
59. A girl coming out of her house after the Rajaswala ceremony and the Pandit receiving her. The girl has to stay inside her home for a week or at least three days after she attains the age of puberty.
60. Devapooja—Devotees carrying the image of Goddess Śrī Sadana (Lakśmī) while performing Pradakṣina inside the temple.
61. Devapooja—Devotees paying their offerings.
62. Devapooja—Devotees carrying the images of Gods while performing Pradakṣina. The images are being carried under the shadow of umbrellas.
63. The Sadhakas (Sadeg), the village Priests, gathering to perform the temple ceremony.
64. One of the Sadhakas in a dancing posture in front of the deity at the time of the temple ceremony. In one hand he is carrying red hot piece of charcoal.
65. Rajaswala ceremony—A girl receiving holy water from the Pandit who is holding 'Kuśa' in his hand.
66. Devotees carrying holy water in earthern pots.
67. An East Javanese (Tengger) Temple. In the middle is shown the Padmāsana shrine flanked on either side by two Meru shrines.
68. Mawinten (Upanayana) ceremony being performed by a High-Priest.
69. A Hindu temple built in the Majapahit style.
70. Main Gate of an upper-caste Hindu House-hold.
71. A traditional wooden carving showing Lord Rāma, accompanied by his wife Sitā and brother Lakṣmana, going to the forest.
72. Gedong-shrine.
73. Linga are shrined in the famous Basakhi (Vasuki) temple in Bali popularly known as the mother temple.
74. Gu(h)a-gajah cave (10th century) at Bhedahulu.
75. Chandi Gunung Kawi (Rock-tombs) built in the 11th century.

Contents

Foreword vii
Preface ix
A Note on the Pronunciation of the Words xiii
Abbreviations xv
List of Illustrations xvii

1. INTRODUCTION: THE CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF BALI 1
    The People 2
    Megalithic Culture 4
    Dongson Culture 5
    Economic and Social Life 6
    Religious Beliefs 8
    Art 13

2. FIRST INDIAN IMMIGRANTS 20
    Early Trade Relations 21
    People from Orissa (Kaliṅga) and Gujarat 23
    Introduction of the Sanskrit Language and Pallava and Nāgari Script 25
    Process of Hinduisation 26
    Sanskrit Inscriptions 29
    Bali Embraces Hinduism 33

3. POLITICAL HISTORY OF BALI **41**
Bali Under Hindu Kingdom 41
I-tsing's Records 43
Hindu Kingdom of Matarām 45
Bali Under Varmadeva Dynasty 47
Bali Overthrows the Yoke 51
Kṛtanagara Subdues Bali 53
Bali Regains her Freedom 54
Gajahmada Conquers Bali 54
Majapahit Rule in Bali 56
Gelgel Kingdom 58
Proliferation of the Balinese Kingdom 59
The Last Hindu Kingdom 69

4. BALINESE HINDUISM **75**
Indian System of Varṇa 75
Religious Faith 82
Balinese Gods and Goddesses 88
Daily Worship of Balinese Twice-Born 95
Religious Ceremonies 105
Religious Festivals 109
Social Customs 110
Āśrama System 111
Religious Schools 114
Philosophy of Balinese Śaivism 117
Essential Features of Balinese Śaivism 120

5. LITERARY GROWTH **127**
Kavi Language and Literature 128
Epic Poetry 130
Purāṇas 140
Works in Taṇtra, Ethics and Philosophy 141
Stotra Literature (Doctrinal Writing) 143
Kidung, Kakavin and Wavachan 144
Tantrīs or Fables 145
Kāṇḍa or Grammar 145
Medical Literature 146
Historical Literature 146
Bābād 147
Law Books 149
Astrological Literature 150
Balinese Calender 151

6. ART AND ARCHITECTURE 155
General Introduction 155
Development of Art and Architecture 157
Majapahit Art 159
Ideals of Art 160
Temples of Shrines 162
Statues 168
Cave Temple 172
Rock Tombs 173

Bibliography 176
Chronological Index 185
Index 189
Maps and Transliteration Scheme 195
Plates 203

1

Introduction
The Cultural Background of Bali

INDONESIA is the largest archipelago in the world. The land area of the Republic is 7,35,000 square miles, while the sea area is about four times larger. The Indonesian archipelago forms a cross-road between the Pacific and the Indian Oceans and serves as a bridge between Asia and Australia. Therefore Indonesia's cultural, social, political and economic patterns have always been conditioned by its geographical factors. Five main islands of Indonesia are—Sumatra, Sulawesi (Celebes), Kalimantan (Borneo), Java and Irian Jaya (New Guinea). The other islands are smaller in size which include Bali also.[1]

The island of Bali is located to the East of Java. The two are separated by a very narrow and shallow strait of Bali less than two miles wide. Its dimensions are quite small. Its extreme length is 93 miles from East to West, having an area of about 2,905 square miles. Bali has a population of about 2.100 million (1971). It is the only place in the world, except India and Nepal, where Hinduism still survives.

Bali is a part of Republic of Indonesia and is one of her provinces where majority of the population profess the Hindu religion. Bali is well-known as the only Indonesian island that has never accepted Islam, whereas 90 per cent of the Indonesian people are Muslims, and 5 percent are Christians.

The present chapter is an attempt to trace the background of the Balinese culture and her people before the advent of the Hindu influence. To do justice to the indigenous Balinese culture, it must be admitted that despite the far-reaching influence of Hinduism the essential ingredients of native Balinese culture remain intact till today. Various currents of Hinduism which reached Bali were not accepted in totality by the Balinese people. The two cultures, over a period of centuries, mingled with each other, and the gradual process of syncretism produced the Balinese culture which we witness today. This is a significant trait of the Balinese character. If Bali is to be understood in its entirety we must try to show the contrast between its pre-historic culture and the one that bloomed later as a result of its Hinduisation.

The principal geographical and ethnic factors are very important for understanding the later historical and cultural developments in Bali. We can easily distinguish between the two main elements in the cultural complex of Bali as it developed after the emergence of Hinduism. In our work, we will mostly depend upon archaeological evidence and draw conclusions regarding the cultural intercourse between India and Bali.

THE PEOPLE

The succession of broadly categorised human groups which moved down into this region in pre-historic times seems to have followed a pattern in which the Austroloid were said to be the first to come followed by the Negrito, Melanesoid and Austronesian. These different ethnic groups migrated to Bali as well as other parts of the Indonesian archipelago in successive waves. From Bali these races spreaded towards the North along the Western Kalimantan (Borneo).[2] These inferences have been derived on the basis of geographical facts, agricultural resources and commerce.

The Austronesian came to the archipelago in two waves. The Proto-Malays who comprised of the first batch had clearly marked Tibeto-Mongoloid features.[3] The modern day Bataks, Gayos and Alas in Sumatra, the Toraja people of Sulawesi (Celebes) and the Dayaks of Kalimantan bear strikingly similar features. As revealed by the study of their stone tools, it appears that they entered the Indonesian archipelago between 2500 B.C. to 1500 B.C.[4] A couple of centuries later, in the second wave, the Mangoloid mixed type called Deutro-Malays[5] with fair complexion and tall figures migrated and settled in Bali, Java[6], and mostly in Western part of the Indonesia and the Malay Peninsula. They were more adventurous than their predecessors. When the Deutro-Malays reached the coast of the archipelago of Indonesia, they searched for fertile valleys and plain areas. In their quest, they had to fight with the abroginal people i.e. Austroloid, Negritos and Melanesoids. Mostly, they won in the battle-field. The indigenous groups comprising of dark-skinned people having depressed-nose and short stature had to leave their places and settle in the interior, in forest and hilly areas then they could not stand the onslaught of the Deutro-Malays.[7] This process of withdrawal into the interior scattered them over a vast area. The present day Senoi and Sakai people in Malaysia, Mamale people in

Sumatra, and Toala people in Sulawesi, all of them belong to the same Austroloid stock. The Semang people of Perak (Malaysia) are of Negrito stock.[8] The Austronesian (Deutro-Malays), having peacefully settled in the area, inter-married and inter-mingled with the remaining indigenous. Diffusion of these diverse races resulted into a complex psyche which characterises the people of the Indonesian archipelago. One can easily differentiate between the present day descendants of these diverse races on the basis of each one's typical physical characteristics, such as the Achenese from the Balinese.[9]

With the coming of the Austronesian people there begins the Neolithic or New Stone Age in Indonesia. The Austronesians brought with them their languages which served to promote communication.[10]

Their languages can be broadly classified under two groups. The Achenese and the people of interior Sumatra, Kalimantan and Sulawesi spoke the languages of the first group, while the Balinese, the Bataknes and Javanese[11] subscribed to the other.

On the basis of the linguistic evidence, Kern derives that "in the cradle-land from which the Indonesians began to expand, there grew sugar-cane, cocoanut, banana and the bamboo all tropical products, and rice was the staple food."[12] This cradle land was located in Central Indo-China and was pointed out in "Yunnan by Heine-Gedern.[13]

The Austronesians (Neolitic men) were familiar with a variety of stone implements including adzes and canoes and knew the technique of wet rice cultivation. They used animals for domestic purposes and knew the art of pottery-making and weaving.[14] The use of metal was still unknown.

In 1961, during the excavations at a neolithic site in the village of Cekik in Bali, stone adzes were found.[15] The custom of erecting Megalithic monuments was also a part of Austronesian culture. The excavation in Bali brought to light a number of stone tools of the quadrangular adzes culture.[16] The quadrangular adzes were made of very hard stone, beautifully finished by grinding and polishing. The presence of these tools in Bali can be ascribed to the wave of Asian migration somewhere between 2000 B.C. to 1500 B.C.[17] The beginning of the Christian era is marked by the presence of first Indian immigrants in Indonesia. Though the Indians might have started coming to the archipelago even earlier, recorded evidence are to be found only after the first century A.D. The Indian immigrants brought along with them their culture and religion, which, later on, greatly influenced the Indonesian society. The immigrants freely mixed with the local population, married among them and settled there, resulting in the birth of the Hindu culture in Indonesia.

We have tried to trace, in brief, the Balinese history prior to the emergence of Hinduism. For the sake of convenience and also because over a period of time the different races had intermingled sufficiently, it will be better to term them all as components of one culture i.e., pre-Hindu Culture.[18]

MEGALITHIC CULTURE

The Megalithic culture in Indonesia and particularly in Bali moved parallel to the Dongson culture[19] till the early centuries of the Christian era, when both of them assumed new features under the influence of the Hindu culture. This culture developed during the Neolithic period. It is marked with the use of quadrangular adzes and Austronesian languages. From the excavations that have been carried out by the archaeologists, we get the evidence of Megalithic graves, like sarcophagus (discovered in Bhang village in Bali). The graves, in this period were furnished with beads, nekaras (kettle-drums), little bronze bells with a ring at the top and bronze spiral.[20] Besides these we also come across votive-axes.

The centuries old concept of the sarcophagus and the coffin, in the shape of a ship, survive even today. In modern Bali the high cast Hindus use wooden coffin carved after the image of a ship for the cremation of their dear ones. They call it *Baṇḍuṣa*. The idea behind *Baṇḍuṣa* can be traced back to the pre-Hindu belief of a *Spirit-boat* referring to the journey of the soul. It can also be linked with the Megalithic graves of the same shape. These ship coffins can also be found in various drawings which are used to beautify the nekara in Sumatra and Kalimantan.

Various researches and excavations have revealed a large number of Megalithic monuments consisting of the sarcophagus and stone-vats, the former being more common. Researches undertaken by P. de Kot Angelino (1921), E. Evertsen (1925), H.R. van Heekeren (1954) and P.V. von Stein Callenfels (1930) have revealed a small sarcophagus in Panataran temple in Tanggahan-peken village in Bali. But this sarcophagus was not intact as the cover was missing. Similarly in Manuaba village two more sarcophaguses were discovered. In the Gunung-kawi temple the archaeologists discovered a 2.37 metres long sarcophagus. Its cover was also missing. A number of small sarcophagus have been found in the village of Busungbiu, this time bronze rings and spear heads have also been discovered at the same place. In another excavation at Paguyangan village sarcophagus was found buried along with various funeral gifts including spiral shaped bronze neclaces. A similar sarcophagus was found in Bhang village in Gianyar district. Two small sarcophaguses this time with knobs, were discovered in Nongan village. These were furnished with metal objects. Near Denpasar, the capital of Bali, in Petang village various sarcophaguses were excavated and a number of bronze rings, ankle-bracelets spiral-shape, finger-stalls, stone axes, necklaces and spear-heads were discovered. A skeleton furnished with funeral gifts was also found here by P.V. von Stein Callenfels.[21]

Besides these, a number of stone monuments such as: Menheirs, Dolmens (raised horizontal stone slabs), step-terrace structure, small Pyramids and throne structure were common features of the Megalithic culture in Bali. The pre-Hindu people erected these monuments in order to worship their ancestors and also to pray for the fertility of the soil.

Probably the sacrificial ceremonies were also performed here. The step-terraced structure continued to be the model of future construction in the mount Agung, the holiest place in Bali till seventh century A.D. These terraced sanctuaries were transformed as the Bāsakih (Skt: Vasuki) temple, the mother temple of Bali, under the impact of Hindu culture. Yang plateau near Argopuro (Java)[22] in another place where a terrace structured monument was built. These structures had close resemblance with the terraced structures found in Khmer sanctuary of Wat Phu in Indo-China.[23]

According to the scholars, the idea of Padmāsana-shrine[24] in Bali was developed from the small Pyramid and stone-throne of Megalithic monument. The Padmāsana-shrine is the holy place for Lord Śivāditya,[25] known in Bali since the Majapahit period. For the pre-Hindu people the Megalithic monuments provided a link with their ancestors, the remains of Megalithic Pyramid in Lebak Sibedung village (West Java)[26] being the best illustrations.

The Megalithic monuments, later on, developed into the Chaṇḍi monument under the impact of the Hindu culture. From the huge monument of Chaṇḍi Borobudur in Central Java, we can trace the significant idea of the Menheir.[27] The Menheir during the pre-Hindu period and the Chaṇḍi of the Hindu period both served as important religious places for various religious ceremonies, including ancestor worship. The Megalithic culture still survives in various parts of the Indonesian archipelago, i.e., in Nias isle of the West coast of Sumatra, in the island of Flores and in the Sumba island.

DONGSON CULTURE

The Dongson culture[28] probably prospered between 300 B.C. to 100 A.D.[29] The Megalithic culture existed side by side with the Dongson culture.[30] Before the advent of the Hindus, the Dongson culture dominated over the island of Bali, and also over other parts of the Indonesian archipelago. One of the special features of this culture was the use of bronze particularly in making the nekara or the kettle-drum. The Dongson culture brought by the Yunnan people in the late Chou and Han period on the threshold of the Christian era witnessed remarkable growth in the bronze industry. Large scale migration was a typical feature of the period, and when the Yunnans migrated to South-East Asia they brought along with them their culture and belongings. In course of time they settled in the coastal areas of the Indonesian archipelago. The discovery of nekara, glass-beads and stone-cist graves in Bali serves as an important instrument to trace the route taken by the Dongson culture when it spread from Yunnan first to Central Asia, and then to Bali. The Yunnan people were very brave and efficient navigators besides being good merchants, skilled ship-builders and efficient cultivators. All these qualities enabled them to move very swiftly from one island to another successfully foiling violent cyclonic storms in the course of their journey. Canoes and boats served as principal means of transport. Having settled here, they started mingling with the local populace including Deutro-Malays (Austronesian). Gradually there started a process of inter-marriage which further strengthened the bonds between the two. The Deutro-Malays were known among the Chinese as the K'un-l'un.[31]

In Bali, however, the Dongson culture developed very fast. Despite the overwhelming presence of the Hindu culture, certain features of the Dongson culture persists even today. The Yunnan people contributed significantly in developing various tools and objects which were in use at that time. They started manufacturing metal objects, such as bronze nekaras, rings and necklaces of iron and of gold. The custom of Urn-burial also seems to have been introduced during the period of the Dongson culture-spread in Indonesia. One of the most important and dominant features of this culture in Bali was the art of manufacturing the nekara (kettle-drum). Broken pieces of stone-moulds used for manufacturing the local type of nekara have been discovered in Pejeng. Another such stone-mould was discovered by Walter Spies and K. Ch. Crucqhove in Manuaba village near Tegalalang in the Gianyar district.[32] Moreover, a specimen of the local type was also discovered at Kedu (Central Java) in the year 1911.[33] A number of clay moulds were discovered in Bandung plateau (West Java) by W. Rothpletz when the Japanese occupied Indonesia.[34] A huge nekara was discovered in the Panataran Sasih temple which is situated at Pejeng village in the Gianyar district. The local people call it "Moon of Pejeng". This nekara has been dicussed in detail by W.O.J. Nieuwenkamp. It is completely different from other nekaras found so far. It is slender in shape and has been artistically decorated. Most of the nekaras were made of bronze. The height of the one found at Pejeng is 1.86 meters the diameter being 1.60 meters at the surface. This nekara is the largest one discovered in Asia so far. A number of other nekaras though of smaller size and different types have been found at a number of places in Bali. One such has been found at Babitra village in Paguyangan district. Many of these nekaras have traditionally been kept in the temples as sacred heirlooms and the local inhabitants worship these objects even today. Most probably, the nekara in Bali was not brought from Yunnan as believed by some of the archaeologists. The Manuaba excavations have proved it beyond doubt that the nekaras were manufactured in Bali itself.[35] While the art of casting the nekara was brought by the Yunnan people. A.C. Kruyt believes that the art of casting passed through father to son due to family traditions and economic factors.[36] The nekara culture continued untill the time the Hindus came over to Bali. Even today it is widely used for ceremonial purposes.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE

The discoveries made at the excavation sites at Gilimanuk and various other places are very significant for studying the culture, society and the religious beliefs of the pre-Hindu people of Bali. The pre-Hindu people of Bali were familiar with the art of waving, and manufacturing pottery. They also knew the use of metals such as bronze and iron in making various tools and implements. Besides these, the local populace was not unaware of the use of ornaments like gold artifacts and beads. All these details enrich our knowledge regarding the life led by the pre-Hindu people and also about their settlements. The findings of various excavations suggest that the people in the pre-Hindu period lived close to the seashore because of fertile soil and climatic conditions. This helped them intensify their agriculture, and rice constituted one of the earliest crops grown in Indonesia.[37] This dependence on agriculture, naturally gave rise to a number of beliefs and traditions. No other thing has so deeply influenced the life of Indonesian people as agriculture.

Trade was another important economic activity at that time and was carried with the inhabitants of neighbouring islands. Barter system was generally followed for the purpose of trade and various articles of pottery and metal, mostly the bronze nekara, were used as standard means of exchange.

The evidences from Gilimanuk[38] suggest that hunting constituted an important food-gathering activity, and fowls, boars, dogs and pigs were the integral part of one's daily food.[39] Raw meat was generally eaten. Even today many Balinese are fond of raw meat which they call *Lāwār* and *Komoh* (prepared from fresh animal flesh and blood). A number of waste-shells, chiken bone, fishing hooks and spear-heads have been discovered at various excavation sites.[40] These, too, inform us about the food habits of the pre-Hindu people.

The pre-Hindu people lived together in groups in village. They were not nomads, because they had their domestic animals, like dogs, pigs, buffalos and chikens. Domestication of animals is closely related with the development of agriculture. Agriculture made possible a settled community life. Most probably pigs formed a part of their property and some animals were also used for certain ceremonial purposes. The excavation conducted in the year 1964 at Gilimanuk proves this through the presence of the skeletons of pigs, dogs among other beings.[41]

The village life developed a social system of its own and there is no doubt that the pre-Hindu people followed a definite social organisation. They had their own religious beliefs. There were social divisions and one could differentiate between the common people and the chiefains who enjoyed high prestige. The farmer village community became the basic social unit under the guidance of the chief. The society was responsible for the common welfare of the people. It was a semi-democratic society.[42] The chief was elected by the members of the village, and it seems that customary laws similar to the *Awigawig-deśa* (Law of the village) and laws of *Banjar* of the modern age provided the village constitution.[43] More than half of the total number was required to make the election valid. The head of the village was a powerful person during the pre-Hindu days.

The findings of the Gilimanuk excavation, where under the jar-burial a male skeleton was found lying prostrate[44] on the ground, suggest that slavery, too, was not unknown in that time. Most probably the jar-burial was a symbol of status in society. The possession of nekara and domestic animals made a propertied person. Nekaras were supposed to be the symbol of social status. The cultivation of food-crops, domestication of animals and making of pottery were great social and economic achievements of the pre-Hindu age.

spirit of the dead the Bāliān, in the pre-Hindu period, used the nekara which was considered as an important object signifying spiritual life. The pre-Hindu society considered it very important to decorate the nekara with a star.

III. Soul-Bird

For the pre-Hindu people the soul of a person was just like a bird. The concept and philosophy behind this belief was to take an objective view of death. The soul was like a bird which could leave the human body and fly any time. The nekara of the pre-Hindu period demonstrates this myth very clearly. In the scheme of the decoration of the nekara birds find a prominent place. Like a number of rituals this too was taken over into the fold of Hinduism and the bird still occupies an important place in the decoration of *Wastra-gringsing* used at the time of religious ceremonies. The *Wastra-gringsing* (Gringsing-cloth) is usually decorated with motifs of human figures surrounded by birds. This Wastra-gringsing is used at the time of almost every important ceremony, and the idea behind it is that it provides protection from the evil spirits or Bhūtas.

At the time of the first cremation, the Balinese make the figure of a bird and put it on a lantern which is called *Pakṣidāmār-kurung*. It is hung on a long bamboo pole erected in front of the dead men's/women's house. The Hindus believe that the Pakṣidāmār-kurung (light and bird) represents the soul of the deceased. The Pakṣidāmār-kurung will be burnt together with the dead body. This symbol, again, is reminescent of the pre-Hindu idea of soul-bird. There are a number of other practices common in Bali which remind one of this age-old concept of the soul-bird, as described in Indian folk-lyrics as the Prāṇa-pakṣi. The example can be seen mostly in cremation ceremonies. *Itik-itik* (chik) is put near the corps symbolic of the soul-bird. *Manuk-devatā*[59] (Bird of God or bird of paradise) which is carried to the cremation-tower[60] (Bal: Bade or Wādāh) also represents the idea of the soul-bird. It is generally believed that the soul-bird protects the soul of the dead. This symbol seems to have commanded respect in Java[61] also where, even today, the crown worn by the dancers bears the shape of a bird.

IV. Mother-Earth

The mother-earth cult is one of the most ancient religious beliefs of the pre-Hindu people. As we go farther back into the history it becomes more difficult to prove or disapprove any fact. The mother-earth cult, too, has not been convincingly reconstructed on the basis of archaeological evidence. There is hardly any literature or archaeological evidence regarding this myth, whatever information we have been able to gather, is based purely on tradition which still survives. For the proper study of the cult system of society, the knowledge of its basic economic structure is very essential, because it plays a great role in influencing the religious ideas of the society. Pre-Hindu Bali had an agrarian economy. The Balinese domesticated animals and lived in permanent settlements. Almost in the entire Indonesian archipelago, the cult of the mother-earth constituted an important aspect of their religious belief. Attention may be drawn towards some special features of the female deity, representing the mother-earth. In Bali it is referred as *meme-tānāh* (i.e., mother-earth). The early agriculturists depended heavily on the mercy of nature and thus the fertility of earth was vital to them. It seems that the cult of mother-earth grew as a direct sequence of people's desire for fertile soil. In order to please the mother-earth, animals were sacrificed. Fresh blood drawn from the body of the animal sacrificed was poured over earth in order to satiated her thirst and turn her into a fertile land. Young animals were considered as highly auspicious objects for sacrifice. The Balinese were quite particular in sacrificing animals to make the barren land fertile. If they moved to a new region, the sacrifice of animal was a must. This ceremony is popular in Java even today. The Javanese sacrifice buffalo by beheading the animal. The head is then, put under the soil. After the coming of the Hindus, this belief formed a part of Bhūtayajña. Thereafter the sacrifice was performed not only for the fertility of the soil, but also for the consumption of the Bhūtas (evil-spirits). It was believed that appeased by the sacrifice, Bhūtas will not disturb the people or other living beings. Sacrificial offerings were meant for a localised spirit which was considered as the protector of a particular area, house, gate or rice-field.

Modern practices of Penyāmblehān[62] ceremony, Tabuh-rah[63] ceremony, Paṅchasattva[64] sacrifice, Paṅchavalikrama[65] sacrifice and also Ekadaśarudra[66] sacrifice are some of the rituals connected or originating with the Mother-earth cult. All these ceremonies are performed to pray for the fertility of the soil. The Mother-earth received regular sacrifices, after the harvest is over. In modern times, sacrifices are offered to Goddess Ratu-ayu (i.e. Goddess Durgā)[67] also. Another Goddess worshiped in this context is Devī Śrī (Skt: Śrī Devī). It seems that in the modern age these two Goddesses have become synonymous with Mother-earth, and Devī Śrī is regarded as the real owner of the rice-fields. In West Java, this Goddess Śrī is known as *Devī Pohachī*, the Goddess of rice.

V. Father-Sky

The people of pre-Hindu days venerated the sky and the earth as their parents, namely as *Bapa-langit* and *Meme-tanah* respectively.[68] They believed that their ancestors descended from the sky. This cult appears to have been related with the productivity of the earth.[69] Though it is very difficult to prove the prevalance of this myth on the basis of archaeological evidence, yet the fact, that even today a similar belief is popular in the interior of Bali, suggests that it is age-old. Take for instance the case of the Trunyan village near Batur lake (North Bali). The inhabitants who call themselves as Bali-mūla (original Balinese)[70] claim that their ancestors descended from the sky. This belief leads them to proclaim themselves alone as the original natives.

VI. Spirit-Boat

Boat is another symbol which occupied an important place in the religious life of the pre-Hindu period. It was believed to serve as the vehicle used by the Bāliān on his journey in quest of the soul of the dead. The Bāliān, it was thought, travelled through the air on the spirit-boat in search of the deceased's soul. The boat also represented the vehicle of the spirit or soul of the deceased.[71] All these beliefs are connected on the one hand with the ancient custom of loading the dead on canoes and throwing them into the sea. It can be compared with the *Baṇḍusa*, which is the boat of the dead.[72] The Baṇḍusa, it is believed, would carry the dead man's soul to its original homeland (*mulih ka umah di kēditwane*). Referring to the importance attached to the symbol of boat by an average Balinese, Dr. Steinmann points to the numerous types of "Spirit-boat" depicted on the traditional Indonesian cloth used at the time of funeral rites. The symbol of boat appears in the decorative of nekara in Sumatra and Kalimantan.

VII. Animal Worship

There is little evidence regarding the prevalence of animal cult in pre-Hindu Bali. But we know that during the Hindu period the Balinese worshipped the snake and called in *Anchangan baṭṭāra* (attendant of the Gods). It seems that snakes were worshipped as a mark of respect for Lord Śiva. The prevalence of this belief can be explained by Bali's close relation with India[73] during the Hindu period. In South India, too, snakes are worshipped. Moreover many sacred animal-statues (*Archa-péchanangan*) like Gajah-mīna (Skt: Makara), Singha (Lion), Bull (Nandīśvara), Elephant (Gaja), Fish (Mīna) and Garuḍa, were also worshipped. The idea of animal worship seems to have been heightened as a result of the Hindu influence. This idea is purely based on Hindu mythological doctrines, particularly the Bhagavādgītā in which Lord Kṛṣṇa speaks of Himself in allegorical term comparing Himself to various animals like lion, snake, crocodile, etc.[74]

VIII. Moon of Pejeng

The Hindus in Bali, particularly in the village of Pejeng worshipped the "Moon of Pejeng" (Nekara). It was kept in the garbhagṛha of the Meru shrine.[75] There is an interesting story behind this worship of Pejeng's moon. According to an ancient myth, initially there were seven moons in the sky, and the light that radiated from these moons was so bright that even at night there would be no darkness. The people at that time lived a happy life as there was light every where. But it was an eye sore for thieves, because the light made it impossible for them to carry out their business. Infuriated, they condemned the brightest of the moons. And so what happened, the brightest among the moons came tumbling down and got stuck up on a tree. But it was still shining. Then the thieves climbed up the tree and urinated over the moon. And that was the end of it. It did not radiate any more. The thieves were able to earn their livelihood. The story goes that this moon later turned into a nekara, and was placed inside the Meru shrine in Pénataran-śaśih temple. The people called it *Bulan-Pejeng* (Moon of Pejeng).

The sky was now left with six moons. That is why the Balinese local calendar (Austronesian calendar) consists of only six months.[76]

A similar legend is popular among the inhabitants of the Kai island.[77] The Kai people believe that the nekara had descended from the sky. So they have transferred them to the mountain for the purpose of worship.

IX. Teeth of the Thunderbolt

There is another belief which ascribes supernatural origin to various stone-tools (used by the Neolithic people in ancient time), which are found all over Bali. These tools of the quadrangular adzes culture vary according to the shape, which can be square, oblong, shield-shape, shouldered or roof-shaped.[78] Among the Balinese, these tools are known as *Gigin-kilap* or teeth of the thunderbolt. According to a tradition, it may be believed that these stone objects are the teeth of the thunderbolt. The tradition goes on to say that during the rainy seasons when the thunderbolt feels hungry it pounces upon the earth and grabs whatever he can lay his hands upon. While eating, his teeth fall out in the process. It is believed that these Gigin-kilap (teeth of thunderbolt) can be found stuck up in the trees, earth or even human beings. ·Incidentally, the pre-Historic bronze axes have been found in Irian Jaya (West New Guinea), which are also regarded as magical objects.[79]

ART

The art in the pre-Hindu period had risen to the dizzy heights. The people knew the art of pottery and manufactured ceremonial objects. They also knew the art of making beautifully decorated attractive nekaras. Colourful design patterns were woven on cloth. The fine quality of adzes, which were often made from semi-precious stones, suggests that the Bali had reached a relatively high level of civilization. It indicates an improved technique of artistic expression. That the pre-Hindu people knew the art of pottery and used metals such as bronze, iron and gold, had been proved by various excavations conducted by the Archaeological Institute of Jakarta and Bali. In carrying out these excavations the trained professionals were assisted by students from the Departments of Archaeology of the Udayana University (Bali),University of Indonesia (Jakarta) and Gajah Mada University (Yogyakarta).[80]

P.V. van Stein Callenfels has discovered a whole treasure of bronze nekaras, necklaces, rings, bracelets, spear-heads and iron and golden beads in the Petang village. Similar articles have been discovered at various other places, too. These articles are good specimens of the art flourished in pre-Hindu Bali. There is no doubt that the nekara of Pejeng indicates a high level of pre-Hindu culture in Bali. This style of art appears to have been closely related to the Chinese art of the Han period.[81] The art of the Balinese nekara had greatly influenced by the Dongson culture.

Bronze nekaras in Bali were usually decorated with geometric and concentric circle motif. But the nekara of Pejeng bears a significant motif of a beautiful *Muhan-chili* (the heart-shape human face)[82] with round eyes, protruding nose and long stretched ear-lobes with coin-shape ear-rings[83] dangling on both sides. Above the human face there are rows of *Gigin-barong*[84] (triangles) and then more rows of *Batis-Katak* motif ("f" motif). Between the two rows there are borders of the double bands. In the centre of the surface, there are rays of an eight-pointed star.[85] This particular star-motif symbolizes the spirit which connects it to Father-sky. The traditional decorative design of the Dongson art is still preserved in Bali. Some of the characteristic features of the Dongson culture are reflected in the designing of *Lamak*[86] in the modern Bali. It is made from long palm leaves or cocoanut leaves and then beautiful artistic designs are created with it. The sun, moon, stars, trees, or rows of "S" or "f" motifs, also known as *Batis-Katak* (Frog's legs) are some of the popular symbols. Although it is generaly used as an item of decoration, the idea behind is the Hindu belief that the spirits and also the Gods travel on the Lamak road. We also find ornamental patterns and sometimes stylized representations of animals, men and trees in odd shapes. The traditional decorative design provides the evidence of survival of the Dongson culture. This genre of art can be traced in the Batak art[87] of Sumatra and Dayak art of Kalimantan (Borneo).

I. Metals

The pre-Hindu people were familier with the use of various metals such as bronze, gold and iron, the former being more prominently used. A great majority of articles made of bronze, discovered so far, were mostly used as funeral gifts. These included various objects such as axes, fish-hooks, wristlets, helmets, foot-rings, spiral shape finger-stalls and bronze hoes. Besides, spear-heads and daggers[88] have also been unearthed. Bronze ornaments were usually polished and decorated with designs either impressed[89] or incised. The bronze nekaras surprises us by their large numbers.[90] Some of the other bronze articles of the period, were bell-shape pendants with conical shape, split at the top,[91] and a finger-stall made of spirals.

Besides bronze, gold was another metal used by the pre-Hindu people of Bali. Various excavations have revealed gold ornaments buried as funeral gifts. But the number of such burials is much less, and only very few human skeletons, found at Gilimanuk[92] carry gold ornaments.

Another important metal in use during the pre-Hindu period was iron. It was used for making spear-heads, daggers and knives. Excavations at the village of Péliatan have revealed the presence of a large number of iron tools.[93] The Tumbak-lada (spear), still used in various temple festivities, was also made from iron. It differs from the iron dagger in the sense that it has a hilt and blade in one piece. Sir Richard Winstedt is of the opion that it is different from knives discovered at An-yang.[94]

II. Beads and Shells

From the excavations undertaken so far, it is evident that most of the beads discovered belong to the Megalithic period. It seems that during the Megalithic period large number of ornaments were made from beads. These ornaments were mostly worn round the neck, ankles and wrists. Probably beads were manufactured in Bali. But the majority of scholars hold the view that the beads were imported from India by the traders.[95] Blue coloured[96] beads, both light and dark, were the most sought after. Some beads of carnelian have also been found near Péguyangan village.[97]

Shell, too, was used by the pre-Hindu people for making certain articles of daily use, such as spoon, needles, etc. Before the use of iron became common, knives were also made from broken pieces of shell.[98]

III. Pottery

One special feature of the pottery in the pre-Hindu period was its stress on beautiful decorations. Excavations at Gilimanuk have revealed a significant number of big jars, earthen-wares and other vessels. We find, here, decorated articles as well as simple ones. Mostly the bowls and dishes were not decorated. The earthern-wares included plates, vessels with angles, and globular pots with elongated necks. The colour of the earthen-ware varied from greyish-brown to reddish.[99] Plain globular bowls have been found at Nongan village also. Some of the jars carry geometrial designs while others are simply plain. Pot-herds of two globular bowls, one small and the other large, were found near a sarcophagus by J.C. Krygsman.

IV. Painting

It is difficult to say anything with certainty about the development of Balinese painting during the pre-Hindu period. However one can trace some designs of pre-Hindu art. The motif of *Wastra-gringsing* cloth can be traced back to the Dongson art. This cloth bears the typical motif of art. This kind of motif is not found anywhere in Bali except at Ténganan village of Karangasem district (East Bali). This village belongs to one of the seven oldest villages of Bali.[100] The people of Ténganan, still preserve and produce beautiful *Wastra-gringsing* for ceremonial occasions. They paint this cloth with artistic designs. Birds, horses, men and trees offer some of the most popular subjects for designing. However, these objects are designed in abstract form. All these motifs have a symbolic meaning. The colour of the cloth used is usually white, while the figures are painted in dark-brown. There is a common belief that in olden days the people of Ténganan painted the cloth with human blood.

The typical design of the *Wastra-gringsing* cloth can also be seen in the designing pattern of the traditional Timorese cloth and also of Sumbanese cloth, which also depict the motifs of the Dongson culture.[101] We have tried to produce a brief sketch of the cultural scenario of Bali as it existed in the pre-Hindu period. This was the cultural base on which Hinduism flourished at a later stage. The remanents of this culture continue to exist till the present time. H.G. Quaritch Wales rightly says:

"In considering these developments it will be well to bear in mind what is so often overlooked by critics of diffusion, that we are dealing with a well integrated culture, not accidental aggregation of various elements, but a well co-ordinated system of customs and beliefs, a philosophy of life and nature."[102]

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3. F.J. Moorheid; *A History of Malay and Her Neighbours,* Vol. I, p. 21.
4. H.G. Quaritch Wales; *Ancient South-East Asia Warfare,* p. 1.
5. Lee Yong Leng, *Race, Language and National Cohesion in South-East Asia,* JSAS, Vol. XI, No. 1, p. 127.
6. John F. Cady; *South-East Asia,* p. 12.
7. Bernard H.M. Vlekke: *Nusantara,* (*A History of Indonesia*), Fourth Impression, p. 9.
8. V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar; *Origin and Spread of the Tamil,* p. 9.
9. Richard Winstedt; *The Malays, A Cultural History* (Third edition), p. 15.
10. G.H.R. van Koenigswald; *Meeting Prehistoric Man,* p. 134.
11. Bernard H.M. Vlekke; *Nusantara (A History of Indonesia),* Fourth Impression, pp. 10-11.
12. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri; *South Indian Influences in the Far East,* p. 2.
13. *Ibid.,* p. 2.
14. *Ibid.,* p. 3.
15. *Early South East Asia* (*Essays in Archaeology, History and Historical Geography*), Ed. by R.B. Smith and Watson, p. 187.
16. *Ibid.,* p. 176.
17. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri; *South Indian Influences in the Far East,* p.1.
18. D.G.E. Hall; *A History of South-East Asia,* p. 5.
19. H.R. van Heekeren; *The Bronze-Iron Age of Indonesia,* p. 92.
20. H.R. van Heekeren; *The Bronze-Iron Age of Indonesia,* p. 43.
21. H.R. van Heekeren; *The Bronze-Iron Age of Indonesia,* pp. 54-58.
22. *Bali, Further Studies in Life, Thought and Ritual,* Ed. by J. van Baal, p. 77.
23. H.G. Quaritch Wales; *The Making of Greater India,* p. without number.
24. The stone throne consists of three tiers mounted by a stone seat with a high back. It is called Padmāsana, the seat of Lord Śivāditya.
25. This word has been derived from Śiva and Aditya.
26. H.G. Quaritch Wales; *Prehistory and Religion in South-East Asia,* p. 36.
27. H.G. Quaritch Wales; *Prehistory and Religion in South-East Asia,* p. 28.
28. H.R. Van Heekersen; *The Bronze-Iron age of Indonesia,* p. 92.
29. *Ibid.,* p. 93.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
31. Sejarah Nasional Indonesia II, editor, Bambang Sumadio, p. 16.
32. H.R. van Heekeren; *The Bronze-Iron Age of Indonesia*, p.7.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
35. H.G. Quaritch Wales; *The Making of Greater India*, p. 74.
36. H.R. van Heekeren; *The Bronze-Iron Age of Indonesia*, pp. 6-7.
37. K.P. Chattopadhyay; *Ancient Indian Culture Contacts and Migration*, p. 62.
38. *Early South East Asia*, (*Essays in Archaeology, History and Historical Geography*), Ed. by R.B Smith and Watson, p. 194.
39. H.R. van Heekeren; *The Stone Age of Indonesia*, p. 131.
40. *Early South East Asia*, (*Essays in Archaeology, History and Historical Geography*), Ed. by R.B. Smith and W. Watson, p. 194.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 191.
42. Benard H.M. Vlekke; *Nusantara*, p. 16.
43. Every village in Bali comprises of three or more "Bānjār" (ward) communities. They have their own customs (adat) and "awigawig-desa" (law of the village).
44. *Dynamics of Indonesian History*, Ed. by Haryati Soebadio and Carine A.du Marchie Sarvaas, p. 25.
45. *Early South-East Asia*, (*Essays in Archaeology, History and Historical Geography*), Edited by R.B. Smith and W. Watson, pp. 196-197.
46. John F. Cady; *South-East Asia*, p. 13.
47. Sejarah Nasional Indonesia, I, Editor, R.P. Soejono, p. 281.
48. Reginald le May; *The Culture of South-East Asia*, p. 90.
49. H.R. van Heekeren; *The Stone Age of Indonesia*, p. 131.
50. G. Buhler; *The Laws of Manu*, pp. 124-125.
51. H.R. van Heekeren; *The Bronze-Iron Age of Indonesia*, p. 82.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
53. Theodore G.Th. Pigeaud; *Java in the 14th Century*, Vol. 1, p. 48.
54. The Balinese hold a second funeral ceremony known as Pémukur. It means that the soul of the deceased will continue to guide as an ancestral spirit.
55. Adégan, an effigy used in the cremation ceremony as a symbolic container of the soul.
56. Theodore G. Th. Pigeaud; *Java in the 14th Century*, Vol. I, p. 48.
57. *Dynamics of Indonesian History*, Ed. by Haryati Soebadio and Carine A.du Marchie, Sarvaas, p.1.
58. During the course of these ritual, the Bāliān or Bāliān mérérawuhān may come under the influence of some divine spirit/human soul. Such a situation is reflected as the Bāliān falls into trance crying and his body shaking violently. He/she is calmed by people present around and is presented with offerings for it is believed that the Bāliān has been entered by some deity or soul. The presentation of offerings is succeeded by the people asking the Bāliān if the ceremony pleased him/her.
59. Manuk-devatā, or the bird of God (bird of paradise). Manuk means bird and devatā is the Sanskrit word for God. Here it has been used in the sense of sould-bird.
60. Cremation tower is constructed in the shape of a pagoda, structurally it symbolises the concept of the cosmos. The base of the cremation tower is shaped after the image of a tortoise with two servants enveloping it.
61. G.H.R. von Koeningswald; *Meeting Prehistoric Man*, pp.194-195.

62. Pényāmblehān is a sacrificial rite in which animals particularly small chiks are sacrificed. It is celebrated once in every fifteen days.
63. Tabuh-rah is a ceremony in which the fresh blood of animal is considered very sacred.
64. Pañchasattva ceremony implies chiks of five colours or any other animal. This ceremony is performed after every five years.
65. Pañchavalikrama sacrifice is performed once in ten years. Five kinds of animals namely buffaloes, goats, swans, dogs and pigs are sacrificed in this ceremony.
66. Ekadaśarudra sacrifice or Ekadaśarudrayajña is performed once in hundred years. In this ceremony eleven kinds of animals, including lion, elephant, rhino and garuḍa are sacrificed. This ceremony was last performed in the year 1978.
67. Goddess Durgā or Kālī is worshipped in Bali as Goddess Raturangda or Ratu-ayu. Ratu means queen, and Rangda stands for widow, while Ayu means beautiful or virgin (Skt: kumārī). Ratu-rangda means the widow-queen, but connotes Goddess Durgā, the consort of Lord Śiva. According to a Bālinese myth Lord Śiva cursed his wife and to a widow and since then she is living on earth as Goddess Durgā. That is why the term "widow" is used.
68. John F. Cady; *South-East Asia* (*Its Historical Development*), p. 13.
69. H.G. Quaritch Wales; *Prehistory and Religion in South-East Asia,* p. 170.
70. Tyra De Kleen; *Mudras, The Ritual Hand-Pose of the Buddha Priests and Śiva Priests of Bali,* p. 18.
71. H.G. Quaritch Wales; *Prehistory and Religion in South-East Asia,* p. 60.
72. Mircea Eliade; *Shamanism* (*Archaic Techniques of Ecslasy*), p. 355.
73. V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar; *Origin and Spread of the Tamils,* p. 47.
74. Ānnie Beasant and Bhagavan Das; *Bhagavad Gita,* p. 185.
75. The shape of Meru is like the Pagoda with a set of receeding roofs. It has eleven, nine, seven, five, three or one stories. Meru shrine also represents the Himalaya or Mount Kailāsa or Mount Meru.
76. The Balinese calendar consists of six months, with thirty five days of five weeks (five Wukus) in one month. One Wuku consists of seven days.
77. H.R. van Heekeren; *The Bronze-Iron Age of Indonesia,* p. 31.
78. *Ibid.,* p. 129.
79. G.H.R. von Koenigswald; *Meeting Prehistoric Man,* p. 134.
80. *Early South-East Asia (Essays in Archaeology, History and Historical Geography*), Ed. by R.B. Smith and W. Watson, p. 185.
81. H.G. Quaritch Wales; *A History of South-East Asian Warfare,* p. 23.
82. The abstrac face-motif is called "Muhan-chilī" in Badung district (South Bali). Generally this term is used in the context of "Lamak" art.
83. H.R. van Heekeren; *The Bronze-Iron Age of Indonesia,* p. 21.
84. Gigin-barong or teeth of monster is also the term for the triangle motif used in Lamak art.
85. H.R. van Heekeren; *The Bronze-Iron Age of Indonesia,* p. 21.
86. "Lamak" article are made from cocoanut leaves or palm leaves. Its minimum length is 50 cm., maximum being 4 m. The width varies between 25 cm. to 1 m.
87. Richard Winsted; *The Malays, A Cultural History;* third edition, p. 9.
88. H.R. van Heekeren; *The Stone-Age of Indonesia,* p. 123.
89. *Dynamics of Indonesian History,* Ed. by Haryati Soebadio and Carine A. du Marchie Sarvaas, p. 24.
90. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri; *South Indian Influences in Far East,* p. 4.
91. H.R. van Heekeren; *The Bronze-Iron Age of Indonesia,* p. 43.
92. *Early South-East Asia (Essays in Archaeology, History and Historical Geography),* Ed. by R.B. Smith and W. Watson, p. 195

93. H.R. van Heekeren; *The Bronze-Iron Age of Indonesia,* p. 57.
94. H.G. Quaritch Wales; *Ancient South-East Asian Warfare,* p. 20.
95. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri; *South Indian Influences in the Far East,* p. 6.
96. *Early South-East Asia (Essays in Archaeology, History and Historical Geography),* Ed. by R.B. Smith and W. Watson, p. 193.
97. H.R. van Heekeren; *The Bronze-Iron Age of Indonesia,* pp. 56-57.
98. *Early South-East Asia,* (*Essays in Archaeology, History and Historical Geography*), Ed. by R.B. Smith and W. Watson, p. 194.
99. *Ibid.,* p. 193.
100. The other six villages are Sémbiran, Cémpaga, Sidétapa, Pédawa, Tigawasa and Trunyan.
101. Richard Winstedt; *The Malays, A Cultural History* (Third edition), p. 9.
102. H.G. Quaritch Wales; *Prehistory and Religion in South-East Asia,* pp. 26-28.

(Sumatra), Martapura (Kalimantan), Cikotok (Java),[6] and in the Irian Jaya.[7] The Rāmāyaṇa also mentions that Sandalwood was imported from the eastern part of the Indonesian archipelago. The epic called these places as Ṛṣabha Mountain. The Mount Ṛṣabha was located in the Timor island.[8] Nusa-Tenggara and Timor provinces are the chief producers of Sandalwood in modern Indonesia.

The Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa also throws some light about the Hindu traders visiting Indonesia. This Purāṇa was composed in the Gupta period. It mentions Kalimantan (Borneo) island by the name of *Barhiṇadvīpa.*[9] Some other Purāṇas mention the visit of Ṛṣi Agastya to Barhiṇadvīpa, Kuśadvīpa, Varāhadvīpa, Śaṅkhadvīpa, Malayadvīpa and Javadvīpa. He stayed for sometime in the Mount Mahā-Malayaparvata in Malayadvīpa.[10] The Raghuvaṁśa was composed by Kālidāsa sometime in the fifth century A.D. It refers to Lavaṅga (cloves) being imported from Dvīpāntara, which is later identified Dvīpāntara with Sumatra.[11] The eastern part of Indonesia is well-known for its yield of cloves till present day. Wolters believes Dvīpāntara to be the other name of Indonesia.[12] It is also mentioned in many of the Indonesian literary works of the later times.

In the Vāyu Purāṇa the island of Java has been clearly mentioned as below:

> "Aṅga dvīpam yavadvīpam malayadvīpamevacha
> Śaṁkhamdvīpam kuśadvīpam varāhadvīpamevacha.[13]

Another passage states:

> "Yavadvīpam iti proktam nānā ratnākārāchitam
> Tatrāpi dyutimānnāma parvate dhātumaṇḍitaḥ
> Samudrāgānām prabhāvaḥ Kāñchanasya tu [14]

The first passage quoted above states that there are the islands of Aṅga, Java, Malaya, Śaṅkha, Kuśa and Varāha. The other passage relates that the island of Java abounds in many treasure-mines. In this island there is a hill full of mines called Dyutimān.[15]

The reference about the Indonesian archipelago is also found in the Buddhist Jātakas. It is the earliest Buddhist literature, which was composed even prior to 300 B.C.[16] It contains descriptions about the voyages of merchants from Indian ports such as Broach, Sopara and Tamluk (Tāmralipti) to Suvarṇabhūmi.[17] It testifies to the existence of a sea-route between India and Indonesia, particularly between India and Sumatra. Sumatra was very famous for its minerals and agricultural products. Even today these two are the main pillars of the economy of Sumatra. Not only the Jātakas, but the Arthaśāstra also regarded Sumatra as Suvarṇadvīpa. The Arthaśāstra was composed by Kauṭilya, the great Minister of Chandragupta Maurya, in the beginning of the third century B.C.[18] Kauṭilya mentions that Aguru (aloes-wood) was imported from Suvarṇabhūmi. There were a lot of Hindu traders who had come there. It is also recorded in Guṇāḍhya's Bṛhatkathā and the Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira.[19] These texts were written possibly in the early Christian era.[20] Then the Niddesa, Kathāsaritsāgara and Milindapañha also cite the Suvarṇabhūmi, Javadvīpa and other islands of Indonesia as places visited by Indian traders.[21] Towards the end of the fifth century A.D.[22] Āryabhaṭṭa the famous astronomer of Ujjain, too, mentioned the name of Jāvā. A Tamil poem Maṇimegalai, mentions the town "Nāgapuram" in Sāvaka-nadu. Sāvaka-nadu is the Tamil name for Jāvā.[23]

There are various other sources, too, which provide us with information about the Indonesian archipelago. Ptolemy the Greek geographer mentioned Java[24] in his records dating back to the year 160 A.D. He called it "labadiou". He said that on the island of Iabadiou was a city named Argyre. He himself translated Iabadiou isle as "Barley-island".[25] It corresponds to Yavadvīpa of the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki. Further-more he cited that these islands were very fertile and also possessed huge deposits of gold. This information strengthens the opinion that the trade relations between India and Indonesia were flourishing as early as the second century of the Christian era. Ptolemy is the first western author who mentioned about the Indonesian archipelago.

Besides the Western sources, the Chinese sources have also very clearly and carefully recorded about the Indonesian archipelago. The Annals of the Emperor Wang-Mang of China mentioned that the Emperor of the Han dynasty sent an envoy to Huang-tche which is identified with Acheh in North Sumatra.[26] The Chinese chronicles recorded another island of Indonesia also. Fah-hsien the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim visited the Indonesian archipelago in the beginning of the fifth century A.D. He reached Yeh-po-ti isle which is identified with Yavadvīpa. He mentioned that at this place there were very few people who followed the Buddhist path. The land was full of Brāhmaṇas and heretics.[27] When he sailed to Ye-po-ti there were 200 traders along with him in his vessel. All of them were the followers of Brāhmaṇical religion.[28] Another Chinese source which mentions about Indonesia is the history of the first Sung dynasty dated 435 A.D. It refers that the king Sri-pa-da-do-a-la-pa-mo, king of Yava-do (Java) sent an ambassador to the Chinese Emperor to present a letter.[29]

PEOPLE FROM ORISSA (KALIṄGA) AND GUJARAT

Legends and traditions mention about the early Hindu settlements in the Indonesian archipelago. It is said that the Prince of Kaliṅga (Orissa) sent twenty thousand families to Java. In due course of time, they multiplied the population. They were the subjects of a powerful king named Kano. His successors continued to rule for about four hundred years.[30]

According to a Balinese and Javanese tradition, the first leader of the immigrants was Aji[31] Śaka who came from the coast of Gujarat.[32] His ancestors were from the Turki Śaka race who had conquered the kingdom of Gāndharā around 140-130 B.C.[33] He brought the first social order, political organisation, new script and new calender i.e. the Śaka era, starting with 78 A.D. in Indonesia.[34] Since then this Śaka calender is being used all over the Indonesian archipelago. To him goes the credit of establishing the first Hindu settlement in Java.[35]

"According to the Aji Śaka cycle of stories, a Brahmana named Tritresta was responsible for the introduction of Indian religion and civilization in Java; he was also the founder of a new era. So the people considered Tritresta to be the equal of Aji Śaka. The meaning of Aji Śaka is king Śaka. This Aji Śaka was the chief minister of the ruler of Aṣṭina or Haṣṭināpura. He landed in the demon-infested land of Java and introduced Indian alphabets and Śaka era in Java. In a later version of this story only Aji Śaka has been described as an inhabitant of Gujarat.[36]

Some centuries later one king of Gujarat sent his successor to Java around 603 A.D. He decided to do so, because of the disintegration of his kingdom.[37] He was accompanied by about 5000 followers in six large and hundred small vessals. He reached Java after four months of journey and settled in Mātarām. The Prince and his followers turned it into a great flourishing State. When he appealed for more assistance from Gujarat, his father sent him a batch of about two thousand people. From this time onwards Java was regarded as a kingdom and extensive commerce was carried on with the activities of traders.[38] Under the sovereignty of the prince and his two successors the country became very prosperous. Meḍangkamūlan was their capital.[39] It is said that the Mahāyana Buddhist faith owes its development in Java to them. They also extended patronage to the Gāndhāra school of art.[40] Tradition goes that trade and Buddhist faith first went to the Indonesian archipelago from Gujarat and the mouth of the river Indus. Rās Mālā the Hindu annal of Gujarat mentions the following:

> "Te jee Jāve, te kadi nahi āve,
> Āve to, sāth pidhi baitke khāve."[41]

It has become a famous proverb among the Gujaratis. Perhaps this proverb means:

Those who went to Java never returned, but those who came back by chance, for generations the family would not lack money.[42]

There are other more concrete evidences related with the Hindu influence. The earliest among these can be traced to the bronze images of the Buddha of Amarāvatī school. The statues of the Buddha Dipaṅkara[43] were brought by the traders and sailors. In the Eastern Kalimantan twelve stone images of Brāhmaṇical Gods have been found. They are of Śiva, Agastya, Mahākāla, Gaṇeśa, Nandīśvara and Brahmā.[44]

The bronze images of Buddha made in the fashion of the Amarāvatī school suggest that these were brought to Indonesia by South Indians and it was apparently through them that Buddhist and Brāhmaṇic faith were first received by the Indonesian people. These came through the trade route starting from the Bay of Bengal to the coast of the Western Malay Peninsula, Eastern Sumatra, Northern Java and Bali. From there perhaps these turned towards Eastern and Western Kalimantan and then to the Western coast of Sulawesi.

INTRODUCTION OF THE SANSKRIT LANGUAGE PALLAVA AND NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

As compared to other countries, particularly India and China, script in South-East Asia developed at a late stage, viz. probably not before the early centuries of the Christian era. The earliest known evidence of written script found in South-East Asia are a number of brief inscriptions on stones, rocks, seals and precious objects.

From the fifth century A.D. began a series of stone inscriptions. These have been found in various parts of the Indonesian archipelago. These were usually composed in Sanskrit and engraved in Pallava script. The earliest inscriptions have been discovered from Kalimantan. Seven stone Yūpa-inscriptions unearthed from this place belong to a period around 400 A.D.[45] The records were written in Sanskrit language in anuṣṭubh[46] and āryā metres.[47] Next in the chronological order belong the inscriptions discovered from West Java. Here, too, seven pieces of inscriptions engraved on rock in Sanskrit have been found. All these were engraved in Pallava script of South Indian character, particularly the Vengi-type.

These are the earliest evidence of the Hindu culture in Java[48] and belong to the middle of the fourth century A.D. In fact the most ancient Sanskrit inscriptions of South-East Asia are not much later than the first Sanskrit inscription of India.[49]

"In 1918, however, J.Ph. Vogel concluded in a very detailed and scholarly article that the origin of this early South-East Asian script was the Pallava script used in numerous inscriptions of kings of the dynasty of this name".[50]

In the Pallava script of Indonesia two periods can be distinguished with a dividing line in the beginning of the seventh century A.D. The script of the early period showed characters that can be related to the script of Southern India and Ceylon. This script was used in the early inscriptions of the Śrīvijaya kingdom in Sumatra dated 683, 684 and 686 A.D.[51] From the middle of the eighth century A.D. the later Pallava script (early Kavi script) had become quite different in many respects from the earlier script. The Sanskrit inscription of Canggal dated 732 A.D. is the oldest among such inscriptions discovered in Java, but at the same time this is also the last known text in the Pallava-script in the Indonesian archipelago.

Although Pallava was the commonly used script in the inscriptions in Indonesia, there are some other Sanskrit inscriptions which were written in a script of North-Indian origin.[53] It is regarded as the direct predecessor of the well-known Nāgarī or Devanāgarī script which developed in Northern India between eleventh and twelfth century A.D. It has therefore, been described as Pre-Nāgarī.[53] The pre-Nāgarī script probably developed in the course of several centuries in Buddhist monasteries in Indonesia. This is widely believed that the activities of Buddhist monks from Nālandā contributed a lot in the development and expansion of this script.

The bronze images and the Sanskrit inscriptions which have been found in the Indonesian archipelago however, reveal a direct and uninterrupted contact with India. The establishment of a Hindu kingdom in Indonesia which started in early centuries of the Christian Era was the result of this contact.

PROCESS OF HINDUISATION

Hindu movement in Indonesia had been a peaceful one. Traders, Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas, all went to this country with separate missions, but one thing was common. They never tried to destroy or uproot the existing local culture. Gradually the influence of the superior culture was freely accepted by the Indonesian people. Scholars have put forward different theories regarding the Hinduisation of the Indonesian archipelago.

First is the Vaiśya-theory.[54] This theory holds that the Hindu culture originated from the Vaiśyas, the community of traders and merchants. Indian traders brought goods from India and exchanged it with Indonesian goods. The trade between India and Indonesia finds its place in Sanskrit and Pālī literature. The Kathākośa in Pali cited the story of Nāgadatta who went to Suvarṇadvīpa with five hundred ships. The Buddhist Pali literature the Milindapañha and the Niddesa also mentioned frequent trading voyages to Suvarṇabhūmi. The Jain Samarāichchakathā, in Pali, too, refers about the trade relations between India and Indonesia.[55] Even the Arthaśāstra has recorded this trade before the Christian era. The Deśāntaravipaka section of the Mahākarmavibhāga cites the calamities of traders who sailed from Tamralipti in the then Kaliṅga or Utkala to Suvarṇabhūmi.

The first Indian traders who sailed to Indonesia were said to be from South India who spoke a Drāviḍian language.[56] During the early period the traders brought presents for local rulers in the hope of getting rewards from them. The Indian merchants were in search of a suitable market for their articles which they brought from India. Naturally they spent some time in the new places. They built their houses or lodges. Gradually they did inter-marry with the local people. The result was a new generation, half-Indian and half-Indonesian. To a very great extent, this new generation became instrumental for the spread of Hindu culture among people.[57]

Second is the Kṣatriya-theory.[58] Some scholars suggest that the adventurers or the nobles of the Indian warrior class expelled from their home-land fled to the Indonesian archipelago with their followers to take refuge.[59] Thus, Kṣatriyas who were dispossessed of their hereditary kingdoms in India reached Indonesia.[60]

In one of the stories in the Buddhist Jātakas which were current long before the Christian era, it is mentioned that King Videha was defeated and killed in a war. The Queen and her son fled to Champā (Bhagalpur). When the son grew up, he told his mother that he will go to Suvarṇabhūmi.[61] The Bṛhatkathā tells us that Sānudāsa joined the gang of Āchera who led an expedition to Suvarṇabhūmi, the land of gold.[62] Thus, according to this theory, the Kṣatriyas were responsible for the foundation of Hindu settlements and Hindu culture in the Archipelago. They moved along the coast of Indonesia. Perhaps some of them were robbers. They settled on the sea-coast and from there they captured new places from the local people. In these new places they built their States, cities and temples. These places became the foothold for the spread of the Hindu ideas. They also tried to have friendly relations with the Indonesian people.[63] This strengthened their position.

Third is the Brāhmaṇa-theory. Traditionally the Brāhmaṇas alone had access to the sacred texts and thus were well versed in the various intricacies of religion and culture. According to this theory the dissemination of the Hindu religion and culture seems to have been done by this community. The credit for the spread of the Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist faith goes to the Brāhmaṇas. They went to Indonesia with their religion, lore and language. Most of the Indonesian inscriptions have mentioned the important role of the Brāhmaṇa priests attached to ceremonial rites. Flawless Sanskrit verses found in these inscriptions, could have been composed by none else than the educated Brāhmaṇas. The local Chiefs were obliged to seek their help in performing ceremonies or composing inscriptions. It is said that the Indian Brāhmaṇas possessed supernatural powers and the local Chiefs needed them for securing the society and protecting it from bigger powers. The Brāhmaṇas were masters in State-craft. Hence the local Chiefs needed their advice also. The coronation of the Indonesian Chiefs could not be complete without a priest. Due to these functions of the Brāhmaṇas they enjoyed a high position in the eyes of the Chiefs. The local Chiefs recognized them as their advisers. Thus the Brāhmaṇas became active agents in propogation of the Hindu culture.[64] According to another belief Brāhmaṇas from Karnataka (South India) carried their culture, religion and sacred books to Java.[65] The Yūpa inscriptions of Kalimantan very well illustrate the high status of the Brāhmaṇas. These Yūpas were erected for sacrificial rites.[66] It is well-known that the great king Aśoka in the third century B.C. sent Buddhist missionaries to Ṣuvarṇabhūmi[67] now known as Sumatra. This legend is popular among the Buddhist monks of Thailand.[68] Aśoka's mission was led by Sona and Uttara.[69] The Buddhist faith spreaded through the Malay peninsula to Sumatra, and from there to other parts of Indonesia.[70]

Fourth theory is the Bhūmiputra-theory.[71] Coédes is inclined to ascribe some importance to the part played by those indigenous people of Indonesia who visited India. When they returned to their country, they were full of admiration for the Indian culture. Thus they were instrumental in spreading it in their own country.[72]

The Indonesian people were known as a sea-faring people well before the coming of the Hindus. When trade was being encouraged by the Yunnan people, the Indonesians also participated. They travelled to Madagascar near South Africa.[73] They crossed the Bay of Bengal and reached India. In India they found a culture which attracted them. They brought it to Indonesia.

Bosch and H.B. Sarkar also mention that the Indonesian people themselves visited various holy places in India as pilgrims and students.[74] They went to cultural centres in India such as Nālandā, Vāraṇāsī and Amarāvatī.[75] After they finished their visit and studies they came

The first old-Malay inscriptions written in Pallava characters around 683 A.D. has mentioned the empire of Śrīvijaya. It is said that the king, in his quest to attain supernatural powers (Siddhayātrā), crossed the sea and landed with an army of twenty thousand. He fared well and came out victorious.[93]

An inscription dated 684 A.D. has been found in Sumatra. It reveals that king Śrī Jayanasa, who ruled over Śrīvijaya laid out a park called Śrīkṣetra.[94] He was a devout Buddhist. The famous Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, I-tsing who undertook a voyage to India in 671 A.D. visited Sumatra also.[95] He records that Buddhist theology and philosophy had a great hold over this place. He stayed here for six months in order to learn *Sabdavidyā* (Sanskrit grammar). Later he went to Malayu for two months. In the year 685 A.D. he paid a second visit to Sumatra. He stayed in Śrīvijaya for four years. He spent his time in studying the Old-Malayu language and translation of Buddhist documents from Sanskrit to Chinese. In his records he mentions that be this time Malayu had become a part of the Śrīvijaya empire.[96] The Śrīvijaya empire had already become quite powerful, because the State of Kedah in the Malay Peninsula was a dependency of Śrīvijaya.[97] The mighty maritime empire of Śrīvijaya, had its capital at Palembang, the most important port between India and China. This empire gained control over the Malay Peninsula and a number of ports in Sumatra. The Kota-Kapur inscription dated 686 A.D. mention that the Śrīvijaya armies invaded Bhūmijava (Java) which had not yielded to Śrīvijaya.[98] Śrīvijaya became a great naval power and centre of trade in the Western part of the Indonesian Archipelago.

Palembang gradually emerged as an important centre of Mahāyana Buddhist faith. A considerable number of Buddhist followers resided in Śrīvijaya. There was a Buddhist University in the capital of Śrīvijaya. This University is supposed have been second only to the Nālandā University in India. It attracted scholars from South-East Asia, Tibet and India.[99] Dhammapāla, a famous Professor and head of the University of Nālandā, born in Kanchipuram in South-India, is said to have spent the last years of his life in the Śrīvijaya University in Sumatra in the seventh century A.D. Dipaṅkara Śrījñana of the Vikramśilā University of India visited Śrīvijaya for studies.[100] Vajrabodhi, a South Indian monk, and his disciple Amoghavajra of the Vajrayana schools both visited Śrīvijaya. They were teachers of the Tantric Vajrayani cult. During this period Śrīvijaya had become a strong-hold of the Mahāyana Buddhist faith of its Vajrayana-Sahajayana sect.

During the fourth and fifth century A.D., there was a Hindu Kingdom of Tārūmanagara in West Java. Sanskrit inscriptions in Pallava script have been discovered from this place. At this time West Java was ruled by the king Pūrṇavarman. His father was called Rājādhirāja and his grandfather a Rājarṣi. He ruled the country for about twenty-two years.[101] The beautiful inscriptions, engraved on the rock, are known as Ciarition-rock records. Above the Sanskrit ślokas, there is an imprint of a pair of human feet. It is said that the imprint was of the feet of a powerful ruler, Pūrṇavarman, king of Tārūmanagara. The inscription reads as below:

> Vikrāntasyāvanipateḥ Śrīmataḥ Pūrṇavarmmanaḥ
> Tārūmanagarendrasya Viṣṇoriva padadvayam.[102]

Another Sanskrit inscription, which belongs to this period, is called Kebon-Kopi inscription. This inscription was engraved along with the footprints of the elephant of the Lord of Tārūmanagara. It has been compared to Airāvata, the elephant or Lord Indra.[103] The Tugu-Rock inscription engraved in Sanskrit also belongs to this king. It mentions that the canal Chandrabhāga was dug by the orders of the Rājādhirāja. It merged into the sea after crossing the city Tārūma. The work had started on the eighth day of the month of Phālguṇa and was completed in the month of Chaitra. It is also mentioned that the stream of this canal passed through the Āśrama of his grandfather who was a Rājarṣi. The opening of this canal was performed with the Dāna (gift) of a thousand cows to Brāhamaṇas.[104]

In West Java more than seven inscriptions have been found. These carry a reference about two canals having been constructed by the king Pūrṇavarman. According to the Jambu-rock inscription, Pūrṇavarman was a great, sucessful ruler who inherited a large kingdom with many vassal States.[105] Pūrṇavarman was the first to build public irrigation works in Indonesia.

Towards the end of the seventh century A.D.,[106] the authority of West Java declined, and Central Java became the seat of a powerful kingdom. In the new History of T'ang dynasty it has been referred as the kingdom of Ho-ling which is another word for Kaliṅga. By the middle of the seventh century A.D. it had become a centre of Buddhist culture. Hui-ning a Chinese monk, visited Java between 664 to 665 A.D. and stayed in Ho-ling for three years. Here he translated the Buddhist texts of the Theravadā school into Chinese under the guidance of a native monk Jñānabhadra. He observes that the Hināyana school of Buddhism was also in a flourishing condition in this country.[107] At that time Ho-ling was ruled by Queen Sīmā who was an excellent ruler. It is said that if somebody lost his article in the street, on the road or anywhere else, no body would pick it up. The honesty of the people was known outside the country also. Once the king of Ta-che (Arab) tried to test it. He put a bag of gold on the road. The Kaliṅga people saw but did not bother to pick it up. It remained there for three years. Once the Crown-prince stepped over that bag while he was walking. When the Queen knew about it she was very angry and ordered death sentence to the Crown-Prince. But the people of Kaliṅga did not like that kind of punishment and requested her to free him. The Queen relented but nevertheless the Crown-Prince had to forego his legs which were cut off.[109]

In the beginning of the eighth century A.D. another Hindu kingdom emerged in Central Java. It was the kingdom of Matarām which was founded by king Sanna. He was succeeded by his sister's son Sañjaya.[109] The Canggal inscription dated 737 A.D. mentions the name of Saṅjaya as the son of Sannaha.[110] This is the first dated inscription found in Java in Pallava script. Ofcourse the language is Sanskrit.

Saṅjaya was the foliower of Śaivism. He installed a Śivaliṅga at Canggal. He, too, was a powerful king and a great conqueror. According to the Javanese chronicle, Saṅjaya conquered Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, Kamboja and Bali. All these defeated kings acknowledged his sovereignty. He ruled the country for a very long time. Another inscription dated 907 A.D. records that Sañjaya was a prince of Matarām. He was the first of the dynasty. Viṣṇu was

Saṅjaya's son and was also called Panaṅkaraṇa. He married the princess of Kamboja and had two sons who both became kings. The eldest one used the title of Mahārāja, while the younger one assumed the title of Śailendra.[111] The latter was with the name of Sangramadhanaṅjaya. He ruled over the country sometime around 782 A.D. It was during his period that the image of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī was consecrated by Rājaguru Kumaraghośa from Gaudidvīpa.[112] According to Kalasan inscription Mahārāja Panaṅkarana ruled around 778 A.D. He erected the Chaṇḍi Kalasan[113] dedicated to the Goddess Tārā.[114]

After the decline of the Śrīvijaya empire, the powerful kingdom of Śailendra Dynasty in the late eighth century A.D. in Western Indonesia hegamonised over Central Java, Central Sumatra and major part of the Malay Peninsula. Śailendra rulers had good relations with the Śrīvijaya royal family which contributed towards establishing political unity in the large parts of the Indonesian archipelago and also developed its culture and gave it a new shape. King Śailendra, however, was the follower of Mahāyana Buddhist faith. His successors engraved their inscriptions in pre-Nāgarī North-Indian alphabet which replaced the Pallava script of South-India. There is no doubt that during this period the cultural currents from Orissa, Bengal and Bihar in India started influencing the Indonesia archipelago. The Śailendra dynasty had intimate relations with the Pāla kings of Bengal. Tārā the daughter of Śrī Dharmapāla, was married to the Śailendra king Samarāgravīra (Samarāṭṭuṅga).[115] Kumāraghośa who was a Buddhist monk from Bengal, became the royal preceptor of the Śailendra king.[116] Matarām was also under the sway of Mahāyana Buddhist faith, particularly under the influence of ideas of the Nalandā University of India. During this period many Indonesian monks and students visited Nālandā University, which was a great centre of Tantric Mahāyana Buddhist doctrines. One monastery was built there by the Śailendra king Devaputra for the pilgrims and students from Indonesia, who went there in great numbers. Bālaputradeva was the last among the Śailendra kings of Central Java. When he lost his Kingdom in Java he occupied the Śrīvijaya empire. This period was the golden age of the Buddhist faith in Indonesia. Hence for a short time the pre-Nāgarī script replaced the Pallava script.[117]

Bālaputradeva was the son of king Samarāgravīra,[118] a brave and courageous warrior, and grand-son of the Śailendra king of Java. He is credited to have vanquished a number of valiant foes. The Keḍu inscription dated 847 A.D. suggest that Samarāṭṭuṅga was probably the other name for Samarāgrvīra. His grandfather was, it seems, Paṅchapanangkaraṇ of the Kalasan inscription.[119]

The Śailendra and the Sañjaya dynasties were contemporaries and ruled side by side. It was in the beginning of the ninth century A.D. that the Śailendra and the Sañjaya kingdoms became united by the marriage of the Śailendra Princess Pramodavardhani with the Sañjaya Prince Rakai Pikatan.[120] In the inscription it is mentioned that Pramoavardhanī was the daughter of Samarāṭṭuṅga and was his successor.[121] Bālaputradeva was the brother in-law of Rakai Pikatan, who left his kingdom and fled to Śivijaya in Sumatra.

BALI EMBRACES HINDUISM

The process of Hinduisation of Bali begins in the early years of the Christian era. Contrary to the view which holds that the Hindu influence reached Bali via Java, there are ample proof which suggest that it was the result of the direct contact between Bali and India. Hindu texts such as the Bṛhatsaṁhitā and Kathāsaritsāgara prove it beyond doubt that there existed trade relations between India and Bali at a very early stage.[122] These books have referred to Bali as *Nārikeladvīpa*. Some scholars mainly G.E. Gerini and Professor Buddha-Prakash have suggested that the *Nārikeladvīpa* refers to the Coco island near Andaman and Nicobar.[123] But the facts do not substantiate their arguments.

On the contrary when Damais identifies *Bhūmi-Nārikela*[124] with Bali his contention is verified by a number of inscriptions. There are many Balinese edicts which name Bali as the island of the Cocoanut. The Poh-inscription of 905 A.D. mentions "Wanuari rūmaksan ring nyū" which means the island of Cocoanut.[125] Even as late as the last quarter of the fourteenth century it was "called as *Bhūmi Nārikela* by the Majapahit kings.[126]

It can be traced back to the early Hindu traders who crossed the sea in search for a market for their goods. It seems that the abundance of Cocoanut in Bali had cast a spell over these early traders who christened it as *Nārikeladvīpa.*

The Buddhist text Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa written in the 8th century, too, refers to the *Nārikeladvīpa.* Though this is a different place from the one mentioned in Bṛhatsaṁhitā yet it has been suggested as somewhere in the Indonesian archipelago. It seems that by this time Bali had acquired the name by which it is known today.

It seems that the Oriya traders who visited Bali in the third century A.D. were familiar with its modern name. The various trade voyages made by these traders from Orissa are even today remembered in a festival known in Orissa as Bali-yātrā. On the other hand, Chinese records in the fourth century A.D. begin using the name 'Poli'.

It can be concluded that the original name of *Nārikeladvīpa* was commonly used by the foreigners till the third century A.D. Then the name gradually changed over to Bali. But, inside Bali, as late as the fifteenth century the natives called it by the name of *Nārikeladvīpa.*

The native people adopted Sanskrit and Indian languages and enriched the Balinese (Austronesian) vocabulary.[127] Many Drāviḍian words are still in use such as Putu and Katut. Katut (Kātasi) has almost the same meaning in Bali as in Malayali. It means both "youngest son" as well as the "last". Putu has, somehow, changed in meaning over a period of time. It is interesting to note that the Balinese Putu which means the eldest son is also used to convey "grandson". This is because of the Javanese impact. Now, Putu (eldest son) has close similarity with its Tamil counterpart which means "beginning" or the "first portion". The name Murugan (epithet of Kārtikeya) is common both in Bali and the Tamil country. The style of using traditional dresses and arranging flowers, the custom of erecting *Pénjor* (bamboo-stambhā), the art of *Pākupipid.* (Palm-leaves), the praist-dress, the worship of the snake and moon and the marriage pledge and the procession that follows are all stated to be of Tamil origin.[128]

The names of many places in Bali, even today, indicate their association with the ancient South India. Names like Chintāmaṇi,[129] Amarāvatī and the Kṛṣṇa river[130] undoubtedly remind us of their famous counterparts in South India.

It is a known fact that the Balinese script known as the Pallava-Grantha character of South India. The first Balinese inscriptions were engraved in Pallava script in the Old-Balinese language which was the official language. The emergence of Hinduism in Bali, on such considerations, owes not only to the Tamils, but also to other parts of India, especially if much more to Orissa and Bengal, both playing a significant role in the cultural evolution of Bali. At this point it will be worthwhile to take note of the prevelance of certain words and usages, crafts, forms of worship and some of the food habits and manners in Bali which are unmistakably Oriya in origin. Mother, for instance, is addressed as 'Bu' in Indonesia and as 'Bou' in Orissa. The Balinese term for Betel-nut is Buah whereas the Oriyas call it Guah. Similarly (Kacang) Cina is the Balinese word for groundnut, while the Oriyas call it Cina (badam). Both the Balinese as well as the Oriyas call uncooked rice made out of par-boiled paddy as *Aruā.*[131] Another very interesting example is the use of the word *Peja* or *Pejo.* At both these places this word is used to denote the thick fluid which is separated from cooked rice before serving it. However in Bali it is more commonly used to denote male sperms. It is noteworthy that in India as well as Indonesia most of the terms described above are used only in Orissa and Bali respectively.

Food Habit

As far as the food habits are concerned both the Balinese and the Oriyas seem to have some common likes and dislikes. For instance, both reveal fondness for eating leaves (Oriya-Sāga) especially those of the drum-stick tree known as *Sajana* in Orissa. Other favourite vegetables common to both include cooked banana flowers and core stem of the banana plant. Similarly, cakes made of rice-flour known as Maṇḍa, or Endoripitha (Bali : sumping) is a favourite dish of both the Balinese and the Oriyas.

Various forms of worship, too, reveal remarkable similarity between the Oriyas and the Balinese. One such example is the worship of Goddess Śrī and that of Goddess Lakṣmī in Bali and Orissa respectively. Although the name used are different yet the form and object of worship are strikingly similar. Both the people, on this occasion worship a bundle of pady-sheaves to pay their respects to the deity of crops and harvests. In Orissa, this worship is performed in the month of Margasīra. Another illustration which is very peculiar, is the high status accorded to the river Mahendratanaya in Orissa as well as in Bali. It is strange that this small river which runs at the foot of the Mahendragiri through Orissa is regarded as a holy river in Bali, even though the Oriyas nor do not regard it as such a holy river, they, too, have a great regard for it because on the banks of this river a number of sacred places are situated.

Another similarity between Bali and Orissa is to be found in the designing patterns of clothes. Bali is the only State in Indonesia famous for a particular type of tie and dye which is known as Patola. Similarly, Orissa and Gujarat are the only States in India, which specialises in this type of weaving. In Orissa, as well as in Bali the behavioural features of the two peoples have much similarity. This is particularly so in the case of one specific social behaviour wherein the youngsters bend down separating themselves notionally by stretching down the right hand while passing along elders sitting or standing on the way.

Though there were many occasions in later history when these words, practices and manners might have been introduced, it is not altogether wrong to say that the early contact prepared the ground for their reception at a later time.

Another striking evidence of Oriya influence in Bali is to be found in the interior of Kārāngāsém district where people, even today, speak of themselves as Brāhmaṇas Bauddha Kaliṅg(a). It seems very likely that their ancestors had migrated from Orissa. The festival of Bali-Yātrā, which is celebrated every year on Karṭika Pūrṇimā day in Orissa, gives credence to this view. Moreover, the practice of using the word *Kaliṅg(a)*, to describe anyone from India, whether he belonged to Tamil Nadu, Andhra, Kerala, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Karnataka, Bengal, Rajasthan or Punjab, which was common as late as the attainment of Indonesian independence also testifies to the Oriya influence.

It is significant to note that the native culture was never destroyed or uprooted by the Hindus. The Balinese held their customs along with the new one. There was a sort of amalgamation of the two cultures. As a result the native people and the Hindus made their own contributions.

Hindu culture was gradually assimilated by the pre-Hindu people of the land. According to Stutterheim: "Hinduism has always been the cult of the upper classes and never become completely that of the general mass of population, who were attached to their animistic cult and to the worship of their ancestors."[132]

In the fourth century A.D. probably a Hindu kingdom already existed in Bali. The first among the Balinese kings, at the threshold of the Christian era, seems to have been either a Hindu who has migrated to Bali, or a native with a Hindu name or anyone belonging to a mixed race which had originated, by then because of the Hindu contact.

Bali begins to enter into history with the appearance of country called *P'o-li*.[133] The first reference about Bali has been found in the Chinese chronicle of Liang dynasty. It is dated between 502 A.D. to 556 A.D. In this chronicle P'o-li is mentioned and it is said that this island lay in the south-east of Canton. The historians have identified it with "Bali". P'o-li is stated in Hsin T'ang-shu (newT'ang History) to be known also as "Mali".[134] Even today Bali is called Ma-li in the Bejing dialect by the Chinese people.[135] The Lontar Usana Bali describes the country as *Bali Anka* the cradle of the strong.

In the later records it is mentioned that Balinese culture was more advanced as compared to other parts of the Indonesian archipelago. Liang-shu cited in his record that the journey to *P'o-li* from Canton took two months. Beyond P'o-li, the travellers say, was Lo ch'a chou. Lo-ch''a is the transcription of a Sanskrit word Rākṣasa. It might have been used for people who did not follow the Hindu way of life.[136]

The famous Chinese traveller I-tsing stayed for some years at Sumatra. The Indonesian archipelago figures prominently in his records. He, too, mentions P'o-li.

Bali appears for the first time in Sanskrit literature in a Buddhist work called Maṅjuśrīmūlakalpa which was written in the eighth century.[137] It reads thus:

> "Dvīpé Vāruṣake chaiva nagnabālisamudbhave
> Yavadvīpe va satvesu tadanyadvīpamudbhavāḥ
> Vāchā rakārabahulā tu vāchā asphuṭatān gātā"[139]

This passage refers to Vāruṣaka (in Sumatra), the Nagna or the island of Nude (Nicobar island), Java and Bali.[139] The Maṅjuśrīmūlakalpa clearly mentions the name of Bali. It is said that the languages spoken in Karṇamaraṅga, Nādīkeradvīpa, Nagnadvīpa, Balidvīpa and Javadvīpa were full with "r-sound", which was indistinct and rough.[140] The Chinese translation of this Buddhist text was done by T'ien Si-tsai between 980 A.D. to 1001 A.D. Some portions of this work had already been translated by Amoghavajra sometime between 746 A.D. and 771 A.D.[141] The Maṅjuśrīmūlakalpa was translated into Tibetan also by a Hindu Paṇḍit Kumara Kalasa around 1060 A.D.[142]

The Balinese traditions as recorded in the Lontar Mārkaṇḍeya Pūraṇa reveal that Ṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeya came from India to mountain Rawung (Java). From Java he went to Bali along with his 8,000 followers. It is said that he put Paṅchadatu (the five metals) as the foundation of the Bāsakih (Vāsuki) temple.[143] According to some scholars the Bāsakih temple belongs to the seventh century A.D. It is said that he was the first Ṛṣi to spread Hinduism in Bali.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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2. The term Hindu is used here in a very broad sense. It is meant for both Buddhists as well as all those who follow the Brahmanical path.
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4. Nabin Chandra Das; *The Ancient Geography of Asia*, pp. 74-75.
5. Bhaskara Chatterjee; *The Point of Departure for Ships Bound for Suvarnabhumi*, *JAIH*, Vol. IX, p. 49.

6-7. *Indonesia, 1978,* Department of Information, Republic of Indonesia, p. 153.
8. Gobind Lal Adhya; *Early Indian Economics,* p. 173.
9. K.A. Nilankanta Sastri; *History of Srivijaya,* p. 23.
10. V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar; *Origin and Spread of Tamils,* p. 86.
11. Gobind Lal Adhya; *Early Indian Economics,* p. 173.
12. *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia,* II, Bambang Sumadio, p. 11.
13. Śrī Vāyumahāpurāṇam, I. 48.14.
14. Śrī Vayumahāpurāṇam, I.48.19.
15. H.B. Sarkar; *Some Contribution of India to the Ancient Civilization of Indonesia and Malaysia,* p. 7.
16. Bernard H.M. Vlekke; *Nusantara,* (A History of Indonesia), p. 17.
17. H.B. Sarkar; *The Cultural and Political Background of Indo-Javanese History,* JIH, Vol. XLII, Part II, p. 40.
18. G. Coedes; *The Indianized States of South-East Asia,* p. 16.
19. D.P. Singhal; *India and World Civilization,* Vol. II, p. 85.
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21. D.C. Sircar; *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature,* p. 67.
22. B.R. Chatterjee; *India and Java,* Part I (History), p. 25.
23. B.R. Chatterjee, *History of Indonesia* (Early and Medieval), p. 61.
24. Bernard H.M. Vlekke; *Nusantara* (A History of Indonesia), p. 18.
25. H.B. Sarkar; *The Cultural and Political Background of Indo-Javanese History,* JIH, Vol. XLII, Part II, P. 401.
26. Bernard H.M. Vlekke; *Nusantara* (A History of Indonesia), p. 17.
27. H.B. Sarkar; *The Cultural and Political Background of Indo-Javanese History,* JIH, Vol. XLII, Part II, p. 409.
28. R.C. Majumdar; *Hindu Colonies in the Far East,* p. 29.
29. B.R. Chatterjee; *India and Java,* Part I (History), p. 2.
30. D.P. Singhal; *India and World Civilization,* Vol. II, p. 138.
31. Aji Śaka means king Śaka.
32. H.B. Sarkar; *The Cultural and Political Background of Indo-Javanese History,* JIH, Vol. XLII, Part II, p. 411.
33. Tyra De Kleen; Mudras, *The Ritual Hand-Poses of the Buddha Priests and the Śiva Priests of Bali,* p. 7.
34. H.B. Sarkar; *Date of Introduction of the Saka Year in Java,* JPASB, New Series, Vol. XXIX, No. 1, pp. 18-21.
35. Bernard, H.M. Vlekke; *Nusantara* (A History of Indonesia), p. 25.
36. H.B. Sarkar; *The Cultural and Political Background of Indo-Javanese History,* JIH, Vol. XLII, Part II, pp. 410-411.
37. James Fergusson; *History of India and Eastern Architecture,* Vol. II, p. 418.
38. Prasanna Kumar Acharya; *Hindu Architecture in India and Abroad,* p. 353.
39. James Fergusson; *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture,* Vol. II, p. 418.
40. Tyra De Kleen; Mudras, *The Ritual Hand-Poses of the Buddha Priests and the Śiva Priests of Bali,* p. 8.
41. Alexander Kinloch Forbes; *Ras Mala,* Vol. II, P. 84.
42. B.R. Chatterji; *History of Indonesia* , p. 2.
43. Buddhists believe in the existence of an eternal Buddha who descends upon this earth in a human form in order to relieve the sufferings of his followers. He has so far appeared seven times in human incarnations. The sixth incarnation was in the form of Buddha Dipankara.
44. B.N. Luniya; *Evolution of Indian Culture,* sixth edition, p. 274.
45. G. Coedes; *The Indianized States of South-East Asia,* p. 52.
46. Anuṣtubh is four lines of eight syllables.

47. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar; *Study of Sanskrit in South-East Asia,* p. 32.
48. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri; *South Indian Influences in the Far East,* p. 104.
49. G. Coedes; *The Indianized States of South-East Asia,* p. 15.
50. J.G. De Carparis; *Indonesian Palaeography,* p. 13.
51. J.G. De Casparis; *Indonesian Palaeography,* p. 24.
52. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar; *Study of Sanskrit in South-East Asia,* p. 35.
53. J.G. De Casparis; *Indonesian Palaeography,* p. 35.
54. Bosch and Krom used term "Vaiśya-theory".
55. R.C. Majumdar; *Ancient Indian Colonization in South-East Asia,* p. 7.
56. Bernard H.M. Vlekke; *Nusantara,* (A History of Indonesia), p. 23.
57. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri; *South Indian Influences in the Far East,* p. 123.
58. Berg and Moens are the proponents of the "Kṣatriya theory".
59. Bernard H.M. Vlekke; *Nusantara* (A History of Indonesia), p. 23.
60. B. N. Luniya; *Evolution of Indian Culture, Sixth edition,* p. 264.
61. R.C. Majumdar; *Hindu Colonies in the Far East,* p. 9.
62. H.B. Sarkar; *The Cultural and Political Background of Indo-Javanese History,* JHI, Vol. XLII, part II, p. 402.
63. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri; *South Indian Influences in the Far East,* p. 124.
64. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri; *South Indian Influence in the Far East,* pp. 124-125.
65. Nabin Chandra Das; *The Ancient Geography of Asia,* p. 26.
66. Bernard H.M. Vlekke; *Nusantara* (A History of Indonesia), p. 21.
67. Kapto Sunato; *A Brief Review of Indonesian Culture,* p. 1.
68. B.R. Chatterji; *South-East Asia in Transition,* p. 3.
69. F.W. Thomas; *Indianism and Its Expansion,* p. 98.
70. Reginald le May; *The Culture of South-East Asia,* (The Heritage of India), p. 26.
71. None of the historians has so far ascribed this title. The author is the first one to use this term. "Bhūmiputra" is an Indonesian word and has been derived from two Sanskrit words namely 'Bhūmi' and 'Putra 'meaning 'soil' and 'son' respectively.
72. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri; *History of Śrīvijaya,* p. 8.
73. Bernard H.M. Vlekke; *Nusantara,* (A History of Indonesia), p. 24.
74. B.R. Chatterji; *South-East Asia in Transition,* p. 32.
75. H.B. Sarkar; *The Cultural and Political Background of Indo-Javanese History,* JIH, Vol. XLII, Part II, p. 418.
76. H.B. Sarkar; *Some Contribution of India to the Ancient Civilization of Indonesia and Malaysia,* p. 25.
77. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri; *South Indian Influences in the Far East,* p. 125.
78. Paul Masson-Oursel; *Ancient India and Indian Civilization,* p. 110.
79. B.R. Chatterji; *History of Indonesia,* (Early and Medieval), Third edition, p. 58.
80. D.P. Singhal; *India and World Civilization,* Vol. II, p. 87.
81. R.C. Majumdar; *Study of Sanskrit in South-East Asia,* p. 32.
82. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri; *South Indian Influences in the Far East,* p. 137.
83. H.B. Sarkar; *The Cultural and Political Background of Indo-Javanese History,* Vol. XLIII, Part I, p. 88.
84. Bijan Roy Chatterjee and Naranjan Prasad Chakravarti; *India and Java,* Part II (Inscription), p. 12.
85. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri; *South Indian Influences in the Far-East,* p. 139.
86. B.R. Chatterjee; *India and Java,* Part I, (History), p. 1.

87. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri; *South Indian Influences in the Far- East,* p. 137.
88. R.C. Majumdar; *Study of Sanskrit in South-East Asia,* p. 32.
89. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri; *South Indian Influence in the Far East,* p. 137.
90. G. Coedes; *The Indianized States of South-East Asia,* p. 52.
91. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri; *South Indian Influence in the Far East,* p. 138.
92. H.B. Sarkar; *The Cultural and Political Background of Indo-Javanese History,* JHI, Vol . XLIII, part I, pp. 89-90.
93. F.J. Moorhead; *History of Malay and Her Neighbours,* Vol. I, p. 56.
94. B. Chhabra; *Expansion of Indo Aryan Culture,* p. 38.
95. John F. Cady; *South-East Asia,* p. 71.
96. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy; *History of Indian and Indonesian Art,* p. 198.
97. O.W. Walters; *Early Indonesian Commerce,* p. 15.
98. *Ibid.,* p. 17.
99. Kapto Sunato; *A Brief Review of Indonesian Culture,* p. 3.
100. B.N. Luniya; *Evolution of Indian Culture,* Sixth Edition, p. 277.
101. R.C. Majumdar; *Hindu Colonies in the Far East,* p. 22.
102. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar; *Study of Sanskrit in South-East Asia,* p. 33.
103. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri; *South Indian Influences in Far East,* p. 107.
104. *Ibid.,* pp. 109-110.
105. *Ibid.,* p. 108.
106. H.B. Sarkar; *The Cultural and Political Background of Indo-Javanese History,* JIH, Vol. XLIII, Part I, p. 104.
107. Brian Harrison; *South-East Asia* (A Short History), p. 26.
108. Satyawati Suleiman; *Sedjarah Indonesia,* Djilid IA, p. 47.
109. R.C. Majumdar; *Hindu Colonies in the Far-East,* p. 44.
110. B. Chhabra; *Expansion of Indo Aryan Culture,* p. 45.
111. Bernard H.M. Vlekke; *Nusantara* (A History of Indonesia), p. 33.
112. G. Coedes; *Indianized States of South-East Asia,* p. 89.
113. Chaṇḍi is a temple which holds the ashes of the Puṣpaśarīra of the king. It is erected after the Śraddha ceremony has been performed. The world is derived from "Chaṇḍigṛha" (the house of Chandidevi), the Goddess of death.
114. G. Coeds; *Indianized States of South-East* Asia, pp. 90-108.
115. J.G. de Casparis; *Prasasti Indonesia* II, (Selected Inscriptions from the 7th to the 9th century A.D.), p. 259.
116. R.C. Majumdar; *Hindu Colonies in the Far East,* p. 35.
117. Bernard H.M. Vlekke; *Nusantara* (A History of Indonesia), p. 30.
118. G. Coedes; *The Indianized States of South-East Asia,* p. 92.
119. D.G.E. Hall; *A History of South-East Asia,* p. 45.
120. *Early South- East Asia;* Ed. by R.B. Smith and W. Watson, p. 458.
121. H.B. Sarkar; *Corpus of the Inscription of Java,* p. 48 (XV).
122. H.B. Sarkar; *The Cultural and Political Background of Indo-Javanese History,* JIH, Vol. XLII, Part II, p. 403.
123. Buddha Prakash, *India and the World,* p. 53.
124. R. Goris; *History of Ancient Bali,* p. 49.
125. Sejarah Nasional Indonesia, II, Editor, Bambang Sumadio, p. 161.
126. Sejarah Nasional Indonesia, II, Editor, Bambang Sumadio, p. 161.
127. *A Cultural History of India,* Ed. by A.L. Basham, p. 442.

128. The author himself came across people speaking these words and following these customs during his visit to South India. These words and customs are still in use in Bali.
129. This place is mentioned in the Pura Deśa Sukawana-inscription dated 882 A.D.
130. The names of these places can be found in the Tengkulak inscription dated 1023 A.D.
131. The Scholar's visit to Tikiripada, an Oriya village (situated on the banks of river Mahanadi about 75 km. from Bhubaneswar) revealed a strange similarity in the usage of these words if compared with their Balinese counterparts.
132. Reginald le May; *The Culture of South-East Asia,* (The Heritage of India), p. 93.
133. H.B. Sarkar; *Some Contribution of India to the Ancient Civilization of Indonesia and Malaysia,* p. 45.
134. Colonel G.E. Gerini; *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia,* p. 491.
135. *A Concise English-Chinese Dictionary,* Edited by Zheng-Qi-Chun and Chai Wen-rong, p. 69.
136. O.W. Walters; *Early Indonesian Commerce,* p. 262.
137. B.C. Sinha; *History of Sunga Dynasty,* p. 15.
138. *Āryamañjuśrīmulakalpa,* Vol. II, Ed. by T. Ganapati Sastri, p. 322.
139. B.R. Chatterjee; *India and Java,* part I (History), p. 26.
140. H.B. Sarkar; *Some Contribution of India to the Ancient Civilization of Indonesia and Malaysia,* p. 79.
141. Sylvain Levy; *Sanskrit Texts from Bali,* Introduction, X.
142. B.C. Sinha; *History of the Sunga Dynasty,* p. 15.
143. *W.H.D.* No. 140, Diterbitkan oleh Parisada Hindu Dharma Pusat, p. 17.

3

Political History of Bali

BALI UNDER HINDU KINGDOM

PRIOR to the advent of Hindu influence nowhere do we come across any political power of much consequence ruling anywhere in Indonesia. The Mūlavarman dynasty came into power for a brief period in East Kalimantan and the Pūrṇavarman dynasty arose in West Java. But it soon disappeared and was followed by the Kalinga kingdom in Central Java.

During the later half of the sixth century A.D. great powers were rising in two different parts of the country. In the western part of Indonesia, we see the Śrivījaya empire. It claimed to have held the land up to the Malay Peninsula and Java[1] and also to have performed the *Siddhayatra.*[2]

In Java rose the Sañjaya dynasty. Besides establishing the Central Java kingdom it increased its sphere of influence far beyond Java. Another power established itself in Balidvīpa.[3] It was the Kṣatriya dynasty. Rising from a small principality somewhere in Bali Kṣatriyas were destined to establish the seat of a rich and civilized kingdom of their age. It was ruled by kings who followed Buddhism.

The Śrīvijaya, Sañjaya and the Balinese kingdoms were contemporary forces rising in the Indonesian archipelago. We have evidence which tell us of rivalry among them. Later on the

Śrīvijaya and the Sañjaya empire came close to each other and it added to the strength of the Śrīvijaya kingdom. Similarly we find the Sañjaya dynasty co-existing peacefully with Sumatra, when these two dynasties could easily have been hostile and have posed perpetual danger to each other.

This peaceful atmosphere in the Indonesian archipelago helped the Balinese in building up a powerful kingdom which flourished for more than fifteen centuries. According to the History of Liang dynasty (502 A.D.—556 A.D.) the family name of the earliest Balinese ruler was Kauṇḍinya, who is accredited with the title of Brāhmaṇa.[4] We get the following account from the Chinese sources.

"The king's family name is Kauṇḍinya and he never before had any intercourse with China. When asked about his ancestors or about their age, he could not state this, but said that the wife of Suddhodana was a daughter of his country. The king uses a texture of flowered silk wrapped round his body; on his head he wears a golden bonnet of more than a span high, resembling in shape a Chinese helmet, and adorned with various stones (sapta ratna or seven jewels). He carries a sword inlaid with gold, and sits on a golden throne, with his feet on silver footstool. His female attendants are adorned with golden flowers and all kinds of jewels, some of them holding chowries of white feathers, or fans of peacock-feathers. When the king goes out, his carriage, which is made of different kinds of fragrant wood; is drawn by an elephant. On the top of it is a flat canopy of feathers and it has embroidered curtains on both sides. People blowing conches and beating drums precede and follow him". [5]

This shows that the Balinese royal family actually belonged to a line of Indian princes. The name Kauṇḍinya naturally leads us to think of the other Brāhmaṇa Kauṇḍinya, who was the founder of Fu-nan. Towards the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. this Kauṇḍinya went from India to Fu-nan (Kamboja). He married the Champā princes.[6] He was also the founder of Vyādhapūra, the capital of Champa.[7] Most probably the same Kauṇḍinya family ruled Bali.[8]

On the basis of the available records, the scholars have suggested that the Balinese kings were of Brāhmaṇa origin. But the fact that the name Kauṇḍinya is not found in any inscriptions or scripts of Bali has led us to conclude that the ruling family of Bali was not Brāhmaṇa.

The king of Bali claims to belong to the Kṣatriya caste. It is recorded in the History of the Sui dynasty (581 A.D.—617 A.D.) that the king's family is Cha-ri-ya-ka, the first two characters of which are common Chinese transcription of the word Kṣatriya.[9]

These were probably the native people of Bali, who were either chiefs of their villages or priests of the pre-Hindu period or the strongest of the people. Perhaps they had Indian blood also. They embraced Hinduism when this religion came to Bali. They were coronated as kings by the Brāhmaṇas. There was a tendency in the Brāhmaṇical society to confer upon the ruler the status of Kṣatriya. This hypothesis is supported by the inscriptions which have been found in Bali. The language used in the inscriptions is Old-Balinese and not Sanskrit or Old-Javanese.

As Prof. Coedes states: "We find from these records a Hindu-Balinese society not the same as that of Java, professing both Hinduism and Buddhism and speaking a dialect peculiar to Bali". The Balinese kings had close relations with the Chinese emperors. Ambassadors to China were sent regularly in A.D. 518, 523, 616 and 630.[10] The Balinese kings sent "tribute" in the form of products of the country and received in return even expensive presents.

Buddhists are found in Bali from the very beginning, most probably due to direct contact with India.[10] With proper identification of the origin of the king we may know something about the Balinese kingdom from the very beginning.

If we believe the Chinese statements, the reign of Balinese king most probably started long before 518 A.D. The Hindu culture was already well-rooted in this period. Besides, Bali was said to be very fertile, populated and prosperous in the sixth century A.D. It appears to be true that the Balinese kingdom was developing independently. This kingdom continued to be quite powerful till the third quarter of the eighth century A.D. It carried good diplomatic relations with China. Unfortunately we do not possess any detailed information about the administrative set-up of the kingdom.

I-TSING'S RECORDS

Indonesian sources do not speak much about the Balinese kings and the founder of this dynasty. We have to rely solely upon the Chinese sources. There are the memoirs of the famous Chinese pilgrim I-tsing, who actually visited Sumatra region (Śrīvijaya) during this period. His information appears to be accurate and illuminating.

The first account of Balinese kingdom as provided by the Liang Shu is given below.

> "It is to the South-east of Canton and a maritime region in the ocean. Canton is two months' journey from P'o-li. It takes 50 days to travel from P'o-li's eastern boundary to its western one and 20 days from its southern boundary to its northern one. It has 136 settlements".[11]

We are more fortunate regarding the history of the Balinese kings after the seventh century A.D. The sources are numerous and inform us about the way the Chinese reached Bali. It takes four months to sail between the Eastern coast and Western coast and 45 days between the Southern and Northern boundaries of Bali.

The statement of Ch'ang Chun mentioned that the Chinese envoy reached Bali at the time, and he returned to China from his long expedition abroad in the seventh century A.D. Ch'ang Chun too this expedition during the reign of Sui Yang-ti. On the other hand it is said that Bali sent her envoy to China in 630 A.D.[12]

The famous Chinese traveller I-tsing while describing Bali confirms that it was a very civilized coutnry. His references to Bali date back to the period 671 A.D. to 695 A.D.[13] I-tsing also enumerates the list of countries in the Indonesian archipelago. He says: "There is P'o-lu-shih (Borus), Mo-lo-yu-chou which is now Shih-li-fo-shih (Malayu, which is now Śrīvijaya), Mo-ho-hsin chou, Ho-ling chou, Tan-tan chou, P'en-p'en chou, P'o-li chou, Chueh-lun chou, Foh-shih-pu-lo chou (which means "Vijayapura", in the Western Borneo), O-shan chou and Mo-chia-man chou".[14]

J.L. Moons has identified I-tsing's P'o-li with Eastern Java. He holds that Lo-cha's chou is either Maluku islands (Moluccas) or a place between Sulawesi island (Celebes) and Irian Jaya (New Guenea).[15] According to J.L. Moons the sixth century P'o-li and the one described by I-tsing are two different places. He identifies the sixth century P'o-li as located somewhere in Palembang (Sumatra). O.W. Wolters, too, disagrees with any attempt to identify P'o-li as Bali. According to him it was a place in East Java. He said that it was there that the kingdom of the fifth and sixth century A.D. flourished.

Moons noted the connection between Lo-c'a, P'o-li's eastern neighbour and Chueh-lun.[16] The other information about Bali is in the Ch'iu T'ang-shu (Old-T'ang history) and Hsin T'ang-shu (New T'ang History). It is said that on Ho-ling's east lies P'o-li. In the West lies To-p'o-teg (Sumatra) and to the South of P'o-li is the sea. In the North is Chen-la (Kamboja).[17]

The above explanation is a bit different from the description of I-tsing. Tan-tan cho and P'en -p'en chou are not mentioned. Most probably in the eight or ninth century A.D., Tan-tan chou and P'en-p'en chou came under the sway of the Kalinga (Ho'-ling) or some other power. It is evident that I-tsing took this Kalingan kingdom to be close to Bali.

A glance at I-tsing's map is sufficient to prove that Tan-tan chou and P'en-p'en chou had been somewhere in East Java. Ferrand has identified P'en-p'en chou as the Madura island in East Java and P'o-li as Bali. Pelliot identified P'o-li with Bali and his conclusion was based mainly on phonological reasons. This inference is supported by Paul Pelliot, Sylvain Levi, R.C. Majumdar[18] and B.R. Chatterji.[19] "The Chinese navigators and traders of the sixth and subsequent centuries made P'o-li and P'o-lo identical terms which, by Groeneveldt and other Sinologues, have been, in every instance, taken to mean the island of Bali".[20] K.A. Nilankanta Sastri said that it might well have been Kalimantan, if it was not Bali.[21]

From the map of I-tsing we learn that on the east of Bali was situated Chueh-lun chou. It will readily be seen from P'o-li's topographical locations that it lies east of Ho-ling. Lo-ch'a occupied an extensive region north of P'o-li.

According to the Chinese records of early seventh century A.D. Lo-cha's was in the Eastern region of Indonesia which was inhabited by primitive people.[22] The people of Lo-cha's are said to be non-Hinduised people. They were extremely rough. They had red hairs and black skin.[23] Next comes Fo-shih-pu-lo chou which was somewhere in Kalimantan. From I-tsing's map it is possible to identify P'o-li as Bali. It is also supported by the Ch'ang Chun's observation which states that P'o-li is situated in South of Vijayapura (Kalimantan). Beyond P'o-li is situated Chueh-lun chou and Lo-ch'a. Thus Bali appears on the map. Ferrand was impressed by the consistency of the evidence about P'o-li and Tan-tan, which suggested that their juxtaposition corresponded with the actual situation.

I-tsing stated that both Buddhist and Brāhmaṇas thoughts had influenced Bali. But Mūlasarvāstivādanikāya was almost entirely adopted by the Balinese.[24] It can not be fairly inferred that the Buddhist faith had firm footing in Bali in the early years of the Christian era. If this indentification of P'o-li as Bali is correct, this would only be the evidence of Hindu of Brāhmaṇic influence already working in Bali. It seems, this island was being ruled by a Hindu ruler or some native with a Hindu name. Moreover, all Chinese intercourse with Bali practically ceased after 616 A.D.

HINDU KINGDOM OF MATARĀM

The ancestory of Balinese kings who came to the throne of Bali is wrapped in obscurity. Balinese kings are described as belonging to a Kṣatriya race. They ruled over Bali in about sixth century A.D. Unfortunately we do not have any definite information about the kings of this period. The Balinese sent several ambassadors to China between 518 A.D. and 530 A.D. During the reign of Kṣatriya rulers Bali was invaded by the kings of Hindu Matarām (Central Java) dynasty. The latter had become very powerful by this time. Before the end of the eighth century, Bali was conquered by Hindu Matarām which now took its place as the dominant power.

The Sundanese literary work "Charita-Parahyangan"[25] narrated that king Sañjaya of the Matarām was a great conqueror. He probably ascended the throne about 732 A.D. He subjected Bali, Java, Sumatra Malaya and Kamboja.[26] He was a powerful king. He was the son of the sister of Sannaha named Sanna. After subduing the whole of Java, he is said to have led an expedition to Bali. He defeated the king of Bali, and then reduced him to the position of a vassal king. There is a view that after sometime Sañjaya annexed Bali and it yielded enormous tributes. Obviously, this means that Bali was a very fertile and prosperous country. But we do not have any definite corroborative evidence to prove that Bali was ever annexed by Sañjaya.

Small votive stupas have been found in Pejeng (Bali). These short votive tablets were engraved with the famous tantric Buddhist mantra (credo) in Sanskrit with pre-Nāgarī script.[27] It reads as follows:

> "Ye dharmmā hetuprabhavā
> Hetun teṣāṃ tahtāgato uvāca
> Teṣān ca yo nirodhā
> evaṃvādī mahāśramanaḥ"[28]

This type of script has also been found on the doors of Chaṇḍi Kalasan (Central Java) dated 778 A.D. It was built by Sañjaya dynasty.[29] It was the first among the Buddhist shrines in Java.[30]

This evidence testifies that the votive tablets of the Buddha belonged to the eighth century A.D.[31] Hindu Matarām culture continued in Bali through Brhāmaṇas and monks. It is possible that the votive tablets were brought to Bali as a result of Sañjaya's expedition. It is difficult to ascertain how long Sañjaya's rule lasted in Bali. There is no doubt that the conquest of Bali was a turning point in the career of Sañjaya, who probably strengthened both Brāhmiṇism and Buddhist sects in Bali.

The fall of the Balinese kingdom early in the eighth century A.D. marks the end of the first period of Balinese kingdom. The second period witnesses the rise of the Balinese kingdom again. Probably the official capital was once more formally restored and the political supremacy was established. Slowly but steadily the glow of Balinese life and culture followed the political change. Bali once again became politically important.

The existence of a city by the name of Siṅhamaṇḍava, testifies to the fact that Bali probably succeeded in becoming an independent kingdom once again in the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. The first dated document appears in Bali in the inscription dated 882 A.D. The discovery of a series of records in Bali makes it clear that it was a flourishing kingdom. All these inscriptions have been engraved in Old-Balinese language in the Pallava-Grantha characters. Unfortunately none of them mention the name of the king. The main object of these inscriptions was to record the repair of temples and celebration of Māghanavamī festival.[32] The economic and religious aspects as well as the land grants are well depicted in these inscriptions. It is said that the edicts were issued from the palace-court of Siṅhamaṇḍava (882 A.D. to 942 A.D.).

From these inscriptions we also come to know about the important role of Senāpatis (generals) in the court of Siṅhamaṇḍava. There were Senāpati Sarbwa, Senāpati Dingaṅga and Senāpati Daṇḍa.[33] Besides, there is also a reference to the Purohitas (royal chaplains) such as Bhikṣu-Śivakaṅsita, Bhikṣu-Śivanirmala and Bhikṣu-Śivaprajña.[34] All of them were the members of the royal council (Sabhā).[35] The Lontar (palm-leaf) Babad Pasék throws little light on these kings of Bali. According to it, in ancient times, Gajavāhana was the king who ruled Bali. It is said that he was a great king who was very rightious and loyal to his people. He took care to look into the people's difficulties.[36] The people lived prosperously under his rule. According to some scholars Gajavāhana probably can be identified with Gajayāna of Dinoyo inscription. This inscription was found in East Java dating back to 760 A.D.[37] This inscription does not mention anything about his kingdom. It is said that Gajayāna was the son of king Devasiṁha.[38] According to Dr. C. de Casparis, he held his court at Panuruhan in East Java. Brangsinga, Tangkas and Pengatépan (all in Bali) were some of the palaces of the family of Ārya (noble) Kanuruhan. This title Kanuruhan was used also for the highest ranking official of East Javanese Kingdoms. The inscription dated 1181 A.D. mentiones that Kanuruhan was the name of a village in Karangasem (Bali). Most probably this village might have been connected with the Kanuruhan kingdom of Gajayāna in East Java. His kingdom had not appeared by that time. Probably it was attacked by some other king or there may have been some other reason. It appears that it was this attack which forced him to flee to Bali. Hence the Balinese tradition names him Gajavahana. Most probably he was the ruler of the Siṅhamaṇḍava.

BALI UNDER VARMADEVA DYNASTY

Historically Ādipati Śrī Kesarīvarmadeva was the first important king of Bali. He ascended to the throne in about the year 913 A.D.[39] We get this information from the stone pillar inscription found in Blanjong village (Badung). Some other inscriptions have been found in Penampihan and Malat-Gédé village. His capital was at Siṅhadvāra. According to the Jayastambha (Pillar of victory) of Balnjong-inscription Ādipati Śrī Kesarīvarmadeva secured victories against Suwal and Gurun[40] in the year 913 A.D. This bilingual inscription was engraved in Old-Balinese language in pre-Nāgarī letters and in Sanskrit in Pallava-Grantha letters.

Gurun has already been identified as Nusa-Penida island near Bali, but the exact location of Suwal is still controversial. Most probably Suwal was the other name for Bali.[41] Many scholars opine that Bali was conquered by Kesarīvarmadeva. There is very little information available about him. Epigraphic evidence shows that he ruled in Siṅhadvāra. We do not know much about his relations with other kings. The Jayastambha inscription does not even mention the name of the kingdom. It does not give any information about the later years of his life. Known evidence do prove that he was the founder of the Varmadeva dynasty.

Most probably Kesarīvarmadeva had close relations with the royal family of Śrīvijaya (Sumatra). There is a controversy regarding the native place of Kesarīvarmadeva. Some scholars opine that he was a native of Bali. But some others hold the view that the use of Sanskrit and pre-Nāgarī letters in his Jayastambha inscription suggest that he was not Balinese. He conquered Bali and Gurun, and had no relation with the king of Siṅhamaṇḍava.

After king Kesarīvarmadeva's death king Sang Ratu Śrī Ugrasena reigned over Bali from about 915 A.D. to 942 A.D.[42] His capital was Siṅhamaṇḍava. However during this period Bali was an independent country and did not owe allegiance to either Java or any other country. He issued his edicts in Old-Balinese language. All his edicts were issued from the Court-palace of Siṅhamaṇḍava. His edicts always started with: "Yumupākatāhu" ending in "Pangalāpuān"[43] Siṅhamaṇḍava.

The Babahan inscription refers that king Ugrasena made a royal tour of his kingdom and he went as far as Buwunan region in North Bali. Another important event during his reign was an attack by his enemies. Some of the villages in North Bali and Julah (Kuṭa) porth were destroyed by the enemies. The Srokodan and Sambiran inscriptions[44] inform us that many villagers were captured by the enemies. Some of them were slain while a large number of them perished.

Next in the chronological order comes king Agninṛipati. He ruled around 953 A.D.[45] One of the inscriptions engraved during his reign has been found in Pejeng-village. It is engraved in Pallava-Grantha in Sanskrit. It was composed by the poet Śrī Punangga Nandaya.[46] Very little is known about Agninṛipati's political career, but from the evidence which we gather from inscriptions, we know that once his palace was set ablaze by a huge fire. After this event perhaps the status of Punta-Hyang (Mahāguru) and the Garuḍadhvaja were erected by his order.[47]

Nothing is known about his predecessors and successors. We also do not know to which family he belongs. The historians have doubt about his connection with the Varmadeva dynasty, because the inscription does not mention it in detail.

The next ruler was king Sang Ratu Śrī Aji Tabanendravarmadeva who came to the throne sometime between 955 A.D. and 967 A.D. He ruled together with his queen Sang Ratu Luhur Śrī Subhadrikādharmadevī. Only four edicts which were issued in Old-Balinese language by him, have been found. His edicts were not issued from the Court-palaces of Siṅhadvāra. One of his edicts mentions about "Sang Ratu Sang Siddhadevatā Sang Lumah di Air Maḍatu".[48]

Some scholars believe that king Ugrasena was buried in Air Maḍatu. This provides us with sufficient ground to deduce that king Tabanendravarmadeva was one of the successors of king Ugrasena. The use of Varmadeva at the end of his name also suggests that he had some relation with Ādipati Śrī Kesarīvarmadeva. One of the important events of his reign was his order to change the old edicts.[49] This order was addressed to his court poets Saṅkaraśiva Prasuki and Śivayajña.

He was succeeded by king Jayasiṁhavarmadeva. He came to the throne sometime between 960 A.D. to 962 A.D.[50] Only one inscription engraved during his reign has been found in Sakenan village. It is in a very damaged condition. The significant aspect of the inscription is the edict which mentions that the two ponds in Tampaksiring temple were dug by the order of king Jayasiṁhavarmadeva.[51]

The Sakēnan inscription has been decoded by Dr. Stutterheim. According to him, the inscription was inscribed in the year 962 A.D. it mentions the name of the king Chandrabhayasiṁghavarmadeva. Dr. L.C. Damais disagrees with Dr. Stutterheim and states that the name of the king was Endrajayasiṁhavarmadeva and the inscription was engraved in the year 960 A.D.[52]

The inscription does not mention much about him or his successor. He ruled over Bali at the time of king Sang Ratu Aji Tabanendravarmadeva. It seems that king Jayasiṁhavarmadeva raised a revolt against king Tabanendravarmadeva. But king Tabanendravarmadeva was successful in retaining his throne. There is, however, no evidence to support this contention.

The next king was king Sang Ratu Śrī Janasādhuvarmadeva who came to the throne perhaps after the death of king Tabanendravarmadeva. Only one of his edicts is available. It has been discovered in Sembiran village. This inscription dated 975 A.D. mentions a king (Sang Ratu Lumah di Buwah Rangga) who died in Buwah-Rangga. It also mentioned the Dharmakuṭa sanctuary. There is no information about the king who was buried in Buwah-Rangga. No event of his reign is known to us.

Next among the rulers was Queen Śrī Vijayamahādevī who put her nominee on the Balinese throne. One of the inscriptions engraved during her reign has been found in Gobleg village. It is dated 983 A.D. The language used is Old-Balinese. According to this edict she assumed the royal title of "Ratu Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Vijayamahādevī". Perhaps she was not a Balinese. According to Damais this queen was the daughter of Mpu Siṇḍok king of the Hindu Matarām in East Java.[53] There is another opinion which suggests that she was Mahendradaṭṭā, the great grand daughter of king Siṇḍok.

Her edict was issued seven years after the edict of king Janasādhuvarmadeva. During this period king Dharmavaṅśa ruled over East Java and was a great conquerer and a powerful ruler. Having conquered the whole of Java, he turned his attention towards Bali. At this time Bali was probably under the reign of king Janasadhuvarmadeva, Dharmavaṅśa attacked Bali.[54] According to the Chinese records" a daring king of East Java by name Dharmavaṅśa embarked upon an ambitious programme of conquests. He subdued Bali. The struggle with Bali began long before 990 A.D".[55] After conquering Bali the king of East Java appointed Mahendradaṭṭā as the queen of Bali replacing king Janasādhuvarmadeva in 976 A.D. It is mentioned in the edict that "ditatkālan Śrī Vijayamahādevī masuruhangpaḍukaṇḍa siwyan dini di Bali".[56] It shows that her authority was recognized by the Balinese people.

Two years later she married Udayana. He was probably a relative of Janasādhuvarmadeva. This opinion is supported by the Chinese sources dated 977 A.D. This is the first direct irrefutable reference. It mentions about the inter-marriages between Javanese and Balinese ruling families. According to Bosch, the royal marriage between Mahendradaṭṭā and Udayana took place before 989 A.D. Taking account of all the above mentioned sources it can be safely deduced that the royal marriage took place just after Mahendradaṭṭā's coronation as the queen of Bali. The Chinese sources dated 977 A.D. prove it beyond doubt that the time of the marriage was somewhere between 976 A.D. and 977 A.D.

As a matter of fact political marriages seem to have formed a prominant part of the foreign policy of East Java. All these matrimonial alliances were very important for Dharmavaṅsa for his celebrated campaign against Śrīvijaya whose hostility could have seriously embarrassed him. Śrīvijaya was attacked in 990 A.D.[57] After Mahendradatta's or Śrī Vijayamahādevī's marriage with Udayana, she acted as regent and ruled Bali together with her consort Udayana. Undoubtedly it helped Dharmavaṅśa to establish his political influence in Bali. It added to the strength of Dharmavaṅśa's kingdom. It contributed to the political greatness of Hindu Matarām in East Java.

Udayana came to the throne in about 989 A.D.[58] After this marriage, East Java exercised great sway in the administrative affairs of Bali. This becomes quite clear when we look at the edicts issued during her regency in which the name of Mahendradaṭṭā appears before that of king Udayana, with the royal titles of queen Sang Ratu Luhur Śrī Gunapriyadharmapatnī and king Sang Ratu Maruhani Śrī Dharmodayanavarmadeva. It shows that Mahendradaṭṭā was more powerful than king Udyana.

The historians are sharply divided on the question of the original home of Udayana. According to F.D.K. Bosch, Udayana (Udayādityavarman I) was the son of a Kamboja Prince who fled to East Java and married Mahendradaṭṭā there.[59] While J.L. Moens suggested that there were two Udayanas, i.e. Udayana I and Udayana II. Udayana I ruled over East Java and he was buried in Chaṇḍi Jalatuṇḍa. Udayana II was the son of Udayana I and ruled over Bali. There is another view which suggests that prior to her marriage with Udayana II, Mahendradaṭṭā had been married to Dharmavaṅśa and even had a son named Airlingga from him. This opinion has been supported by Dr. Goris who adds that Airlingga was born in Bali.

In reality most of these controversies have their origin in an inscription engraved in the Chaṇḍi Jalatuṇḍa. The inscription mentions two names Mṛgāvatī and Udayana. Some of the scholars find an interesting link between this inscription and a story described in the Skānda purāṇa. The story runs as follows:

During her pregnancy, Mṛgāvatī, the mother of Udayana, desired to take bath in a tank full of red water (raktavāpī). In order to fulfil her wish, it was made known to her husband who got prepared a tank which was filled with water extracted from red flowers. When Mṛgāvatī was taking her bath, she was mistaken for a piece of meat by a bird Mahāravitaka. The bird Mahāravitaka caught her between its paws and flew away to a far off place. However the bird Mahāravitaka came to realise that she was a living being and then left her alone in the Udayāchala cave. There she was provided with shelter by a disciple of Ṛṣi Jamadagni. In the hermit of the Ṛṣi she gave birth to a handsome son, Udayana.[60]

The use of Varmadeva at the end of the name suggests that Udayana belonged to the family of Kesarīvarmadeva. It indicates that Udayana was the successor of the king Śrī Kesarīvarmadeva. He was born about 963 A.D. in Bali. The Chinese sources dated 977 A.D. make it abundantly clear that Udayana was related to king Janasādhuvarmadeva. From his marriage with Mahendradaṭṭā, Udayana had three sons namely Airlingga, Marakata and Anak Wungsu (youngest son). Airlingga was, later on adopted by Dharmavaṅśa the king of East Java as his son. According to the Calcutta inscription Airlingga was a son of Mahendradaṭṭa.[61]

The edicts issued after 1011 A.D. mention the name Udayana alone. The name of the queen no longer appears. It seems that queen Mahendradaṭṭā Guṇapriyadharmapatnī died around 1011 A.D. Mahendradaṭṭa was buried in Buruwan-village as *Durgāmahiṣasurāmardin.* Udayana ruled Bali till 1022 A.D. In the inscriptions found Udayana has been referred to as *Bhaṭṭāra lumah-i-Bañu-wka.* All the edicts of Udayana were issued from *Aji-ing-krama* (court). His council was attended by Bhikṣu-Sogata, Upādhyāya ing Nālandā, Dang Āchārya i Vāraṇāsī, Dang Api and many Brāhamaṇas.

During this period Bali was under the political influence of East Java. It made a deep impression upon Bali. By 1022 A.D. the culture and civilization of Bali had been greatly influenced by that of Java and from this year onwards the former has been regarded as Old-Javanese in character. The Old-Javanese language was gradually replacing the Old-Balinese language.

BALI OVERTHROWS THE YOKE

King Marakata succeeded his father Udayana. He came to the throne in 1022 A.D.[62] Four inscriptions related to his period have been found. They were engraved on the statues of Śibi-Temple. We are informed that Marakata assumed the royal title "Dharmavaṁśavardhanamarakatapaṅkajasthanoṭṭuṅgadeva". His inscriptions describe him as the saviour of the miserable and the down-trodden people of his country. He has also been recognised as the incaranation of Lord Viṣṇu.[63] King Airlingga was the comtemporary of Marakata and was also his step-brother. He reigned in East Java. When Airlingga was young he was invited to Java to the court of king Dharmavaṅśa where he married Dharmavaṅśa's daughter. Within a few years a great catastrophe befell on Dharmavaṁśa and his kingdom. Java was destroyed by this calamity. The exact cause of the catastrophe is not known, but probably there was a great invasion by some hostile king. Airlingga took refugee in the jungle. Later on prominent Brāhmaṇas met Airlingga in the forest and requested him to accept the royal powers of his father-in-law. Airlingga assumed the royal title of Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Halu Śrī Lokeśvaradharmavaṅśairlanggānantavikramoṭṭungadeva.

Before his death, Airlingga decided to divide his kingdom between his two sons. He consulted a Brāhmaṇa Mpu Bharadah.[64] According to his plan Airlingga wanted to give Bali to one and Java to the other son. But Mpu Bharadah after visiting Bali warned the king not to provoke the anger of the powerful Purohita of Bali whose name was Mpu Kuturan.[65] Then Airlingga asked Mpu Bharadah to divide his kingdom of Java into two parts to avoid conflict between his two sons and his step-brother in Bali.[66] The agreement was reached between them by which East Java was regarded as the kingdom of the two sons of Airlingga while Bali remained under the rule of Airlingga's brother Marakata. Detailed information regarding Marakata's life and reign is not available.

He was succeeded by king Anak Wungsu who was the youngest brother of Marakata. He assumed the royal title of Paḍuka Aji Anak Wungsu. He ruled between 1049 A.D. to 1077 A.D.[67] His inscription describe him as the protector of his people and the promotor of the religious order. He has been compared with Lord Dharma (God of justice).[68] Hinduism and Buddhism continued side by side in his kingdom. He ruled Bali for 28 years. After his death he was buried in Chaṇḍi Gunung-kavi in 1079 A.D.

King Sri Valaprabhu came to the throne perhaps after king Anak Wungsu and ruled from 1079 A.D. to 1088 A.D. Three of the edicts issued during his reign have been found but these do not bear any date. In the inscriptions the title Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Valaprabhu has been used for the king. He was the only Balinese king who used the title of Mahārāja. It is surprising that his predecessors never assumed such title. They just used *Sang Ratu* and *Paḍuka Aji*. It would thus appear that king Śrī Valaprabhu was probably the first Balinese king to set up an independent kingdom and establish his full authority in Bali since the time of Dharmavaṅśa. He was a powerful king, so, he assumed the title Mahārāja. Thus we see that Bali did not remain under the political influence of East Java for a long time. It came back under Balinese dynasty during the reign of Sri Valaprabhu.

Some scholars suggest that king Śrī Vālaprabhu was the other name of king Anak Wungsu because the meaning of Vāla (Bāla) Prabhu and Anak Wungsu is similar i.e. "younger son".[69] But it seems odd for a king to use two different names. Moreover the title of Mahārāja has never been used before Anak Wungsu. Whatever evidence we gather from the inscriptions makes it quite clear that Vālaprabhu alone used the title of Mahārāja. It strengthens the contention that Vālaprabhu was a king who succeeded Anak Wungsu and the use of title Mahārāja suggests that under his reign Bali succeeded in overthrowing the Yoke of Java.

Queen Śrī Śakalendukiraṇā comes next in the chronological order. The inscriptions belonging to her age describe her as queen paduka Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Śakalendukiraṇaiśanaguṇadharmalakṣmīdharavijayoṭṭugadevī. According to Goris such a long name shows that she assumed royal title from ancient names of different kings. It also suggests that she was the descendant of the former kings. One of the inscription dated 1098 A.D. reveals that she ruled from 1088 A.D. to 1101 A.D.[70] Unfortunately no detailed records of the achievements made during her reign are available.

King Śrī Śuradīpa ascended the throne sometime between 1115 A.D. to 1119 A.D.[71] In the inscriptions which are available he is described as the incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu and Lord Chandrāditya. King Śuradīpa also issued a few edicts. Unfortunately we do not have complete record of him.

King Jayaśakti rose to the throne in about the year 1131 A.D. He assumed the title of Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Jayaśakti. He issued about fifteen inscriptions. The inscriptions describe him as *Prabhu Chakravarti sākṣāt puruṣottamāṅśa* We do not know much about the events related to his tenure as the king. His administration was in conformity with the Uttaraviddhibalavan, the Rājāvachana and the Rājanīti. These law-books were adhered to by queen Śakalendukiraṇā also.

King Hariprabhu succeeded to the throne 1150 A.D. to 1177 A.D. Not much information has been found about this king. He was succeeded by king Jayapangus who came to the throne about the year 1177 A.D.[72] Thirtynine inscriptions related to the reign of king Jayapangus have been found. He assumed the royal title of Paḍuka Śrī Mahārāja Aji Jayapangusarkajalāñchana. He had two queens whose names appear as queen Paḍuka Bhaṭṭārī Śrī Parameśvarī Indujalānchanā and queen Paḍuka Śrī Mahādevī Śaśaṅkajaketanā. These names have been mentioned in the Kerobokan inscription. The inscriptions describe him as *Chakravartī*. His kingdom consisted of seven states. He was *Rājādhirāja* of Bali.[73] Unfortunately his edicts do not contain any information about the important events of his reign. We do not have a complete picture of his times.

King Śrī Mahārāja Aji Ekājayalāñchana reigned around 1200 A.D.[74] Some of the inscriptions related to his time have been found in Kintamani village in North Bali. He ruled Bali together with his mother Queen Śrī Mahārāja Śrī Arjayādijayaketanā. It is surprising that the king used the title Aji, which once had been used by king Anak Wungsu and Jayapangus. This title has been very rarely used by the Indonesian kings. Most probably he used this title in order to describe himself as the descendant of these kings. He also belonged to the line of Varmadeva dynasty. Both the king and his mother assumed the title of Mahārāja.

He was succeeded by king Bhaṭṭāra Guru (I) who ascended the throne around 1204 A.D. He assumed the royal title of Bhaṭṭāra Guru Śrī Ādikuntīketana. Probably he ruled together with king Bhaṭṭāra Parameśvara Śri Virama, also krown as Śrī Dhanādhirājalānchana. We have no detailed account about these kings and their successors. Around 1260 A.D. we hear about a king Ādidevalañchana who probably established a powerful kingdom. Except inscriptions, we do not have any other historical record to give any definite idea about the later times. The post Bhaṭṭāra Guru(I) period is considered to be a dark period. It appears that during this period the Balinese kings lost their supremacy over Bali. The kings of Bali miserably failed to meet the challenge posed by aggressors. There is the evidence of Chu-fan-chih in 1225 A.D. which mentions that Ma-li (Bali) was the dependency of Su-chi-ta near Surabaya.[75] Thus Bali, in the dark period, once again fell under the domination of Java.

KṚTANAGARA SUBDUES BALI

King Ādidevalañchana ascended the throne some time in 1260 A.D. He assumed the tittle of Pādukā Bhaṭṭāra Parameśvara Śrī Hyang ning Hyang Ādidevalañchana. He established a powerful dynasty. Perhaps he refused to come down before the Java hegemony. This assertion of strength on the part of king Ādideva, later on, provoked an attack by the powerful king of Siṅhasarī Kṛtanagara. Kṛtanagara was the son and successor of king Viṣṇuvardhana of Java. He had already been appointed king by his father in 1254 A.D. The reign of Kṛtanagara (1254 A.D. - 1292 A.D.) was an eventful one, both at home and abroad. After he conquered some parts of Java he wanted to re-establish the supremacy of Java over Bali, the Malay Peninsula, Kalimantan and Sumatra. King Kṛtanagara soon conquered the whole of Java and in 1284 A.D. captured Bali.[76] The king of Bali was brought as a prisoner before Kṛtanagara.[77] The identity of the king of Bali is not certain but this even probably took place before the reign of king Bhaṭṭāra Guru (II).

The expedition of Kṛtanagara against Bali was the result of a deliberate imperial policy of expansion, and the authority of the king was established over Malayu, Pahang, Gurun, Bakulapura, Sunda, Madura and Bali.[78] Bali continued to exist as a vassal State. The history of the period beginning with the death of king Bhaṭṭāra Guru (I) and ending with the rise of Bhaṭṭāra Guru (II) (1324 A.D.) is shrounded in mystery. The Siṅhasarī invasion is believed to be the vital cause of the dark period in Bali. Kṛtanagara wielded suzerainty over Bali. It is not possible to tell with certainty how long Kṛtanagara ruled Bali. It is to be noted that Siṅhasarī king who had destroyed the power of Balinese kingdom was himself over thrown by Jayakatwang from Kaḍiri (East Java) in the year 1292 A.D.

Some inscriptions related to the dark period in Bali have been discovered. The name Kebo-Parud as Rājāpatih,[79] occurs on some inscriptions. These inscriptions were issued by the ruler of

Mauli of Majapahit who killed king Bhēdahulu of Bali. All these facts make us deduce that Prince Ārya Damar also known as Ārya Āditya was the same person who had the royal title of Udayādityavarmanpralapaprakramarajeśvara Mauli-mali Varmadeva. It becomes more clear when one comes to known the meaning of Masula-masuli. King Masula-masuli being a faithful disciple of Bhairava believed in Tantras and it was quite natural that he was also called Masula-masuli which means *Śakti* or magical power. Later on his descendant, as the ruler of Badung used the royal title Śakti. Actually the conquest of Bali took more than ten years and even then it was never fully Javanised.

MAJAPAHIT RULE IN BALI

After the second expedition, which fully established the Majapahit supremacy over Bali, it was divided among the Majapahit Senāpatis. This was done in order to obtain the full Balinese loyalty towards the empire. These Senāpatis were to be the ruler in their respective territories, while Dang Hyang Kapakisan or Śrī Kṛṣṇa Kapakisan, a Javanese Brāhmaṇa from Kaḍiri, was to be the overall Governor of Bali with his capital at Samprangan. Originally he was Brāhmaṇa who later became a Kṣatriya. He was succeeded by his son Dalem Samprangan.

Senāpati Ārya Damar was offered the territory of Tabanan. He had some 40,000 people as his subject. He obtained the title of *Ārya Keñcheng*, which means the strong Kṣatriya noble. He was also selected as the first Minister of Samprangan who was to be consulted on all occasions regarding the kingdom. He married a girl of Brāhmaṇa caste, and had sons of this marriage. He stayed for some time in Bali and then went back to Majapahit. Later on he was sent to Malayu (Sumatra) around 1347 A.D. His successors in Bali founded the Siṅhāsana dynasty in Tabanan kingdom and latter on the Padmāchyutam (Pamecutan) dynasty in Badung. Patih Gajahmada became the ruler of Mengwi region. In later time the offsprings of Gajahmada ruled Mengwi kingdom.

Ārya Séntong was given the smaller governorship of Pachung. Penatih territory was given to Ārya Béléténg, and Kapal region to Ārya Beñchuluk, while Ārya Manguri received Dawuh region.[85] All these rulers enjoyed autonomy in their respective territories. Thus the line of Varmadeva dynasty had a heroic end. The Balinese kingdom passed on to the hands of the royal family of Majapahits from Java.

Bali was added to the growing empire of Majapahits. Henceforth it formed an integral part of the Majapahit empire. The process of rapid Javanisation of Bali started. It was intensified during the rule of Kapakisan. The ascendency of the Majapahit empire reached its peak with the accession of king Hayam-Wuruk, the greatest of the Majapahit dynasty. He was the son of queen Tribhūvanoṭṭuṅgadevī. He came to the throne in 1350 A.D. He assumed the royal title of Rajasanagara. Under him, the Majapahit empire reached the pinnacle of her political greatness and established her unquestioned supremacy over the Malay Peninsula, the Philippines island, and all over Indonesian archipelago.[86] The Majapahit rule occupied a position of international importance. Many foreign countries had trade relations with it. It is narrated in the Nagaṛākṛtāgama as below:

"There came unceasingly, in large numbers, people from all lands such as Jambudvīpa, Kamboja, China, Yavana, Champa, Karṇataka, Gauda and Siam. They came in ships with merchandise. Monks and distinguished Brāhmaṇas also came from these lands and were entertained."[87]

It shows that the reign of King Hayam-Wuruk witnessed the high watermark of the power and glory of Indonesia. He had a long and prosperous reign. Majapahit became the seat of a vast empire.

However Bali was only a vassal of Majapahit which was ruled by the Senāpatis (governors). Direct administration was carried on from the capital of Majapahit in Java from where edicts were issued. It is mentioned in the records as below:

"The vassal princelings were referred to as Senāpati, 'military commander', their responsibilities encompassing, in addition to the role of general or commander, the function of provincial governor and member of the royal judiciary. A Senāpati was empowered to pass judgements in the name of the sovereign in regional courts in the territory under his jurisdiction".[88]

Some edicts issued from Majapahit have been found in Bali. There are two inscriptions dated 1383 A.D. and 1398 A.D. In these inscriptions we come across the name of Pāḍukā Parameśvara Śrī Vijayarajasa. Śrī Vijayarajasa was the uncle of king Hayam Wuruk. It indicates that he exercised his sovereignty over Bali. He perhaps assumed honorary designation of "Prince of Bali". The inscriptions do not indicate his stay in Bali. It is possible that he enjoyed this title without ever being in Bali. Such titles are used in Britain also. In fact he was the king of Wéngkér. However, Senāpati Ārya Kṛṣṇa Kapakisan was a governor under him. He maintained law and order situation in Bali. He built his capital in Səmprangan about 1390 A.D. He was succeed by his son. Later on Samprangan, the son of Ārya Kṛṣṇa Kapakisan succeeded his father as the governor of Bali.

In the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. the decline of the Majapahit empire as an international power began. The successors of the Majapahit Hayam-Wuruk in Java did not prove themselves worthy of the empire they ruled. They became instrumental in the decline and fall of the Majapahit empire. The manuscript of Pararaton does not mention it clearly. In the third quarter of fifteenth century A.D. there was a new dynasty ruling in Java. This dynasty was founded by Girindravardhanaraṇavijaya. He was the last Hindu king of Majapahit in Java. The empire continued in Java for about 40 years more.

According to the manuscript of Sérat-Kaṇḍa, Majapahit was attacked by Sultan of Demak. The Hindu king fought bravely against his own kith and kin who had adopted Islam. But he was unable to withstand the onslaught. The Sérat-Kaṇḍa narrates that the king fled to Séngguruh region. He was asked to embrace Islam by the Sultan of Demak. However he did not accept it. Finally Majapahit was conquered by Ādipati Yunus, Sultan of Demak in Central Java. The Hindu king, royal families and his followers took refuge in the extreme of Eastern Java. After their last defeat they were compelled to leave Java and seek shelter in Bali.

The current of Hindu-Javanese culture now shifted to Bali, where the royal family, elites, Brāhmaṇas and large number of their followers had taken refuge. They brouht along with them their vast store of religious lore and classified literary manuscripts to Bali.[89] The fall of the Majapahit empire meant the downfall of Hindu authority in Indonesia.

After the decline and the down-fall of the Majapahit empire, Bali became the seat of Hindu-Javanese culture and life. She at first was a dependency of the Majapahits, but soon became an independent Hindu-Javanese kingdom. Subsequent history of Bali may thus be regarded as a continuation of the Majapahits. Prof. G. Coedes narrates, "Hindu culture sought refuge in Bali. Indeed Bali played the same role as the last refuge of Hinduism in Indonesia, as Tibet did for Buddhism in India".[90]

GELGEL KINGDOM

At the time the Majapahit went down, there was no power strong enough to take their place. Most of the vassal States in the Indonesian archipelago and the Malay Peninsula hastened to assert their independence. Bali, too, declared her independence. It is not known whether Bali totally broke away her relations with Java or not. In the absence of any epigraphic or literary evidence, nothing can be said with certainty about the events of Bali during this period. To all probability Bali passed from Javanese domination to that of the Balinese. Dalém Kétut Ngulésir a great grand-son of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Kapakisan shifted his capital from Samprangan to Swecchapura in Gelgel. Most probably he declared himself as the king of Bali. He assumed the title of *Dalém*. It is said that he was the founder of the "Dalém-dynasty" about 1444 A.D. He restored peace and order in Gelgel.

Gelgel reached the zenith of her power during the tenure of king Dalém Watur-Enggong. He succeeded his father Dalém Kétut Ngulésir and began to rule as a paramount sovereign. He ruled Gelgel sometime about 1550 A.D. His vassals served him faithfully. The king himself was devoted to his duties. In his time there was a Brāhmaṇa priest from Orissa (Kaliṅga) called Ḍang Hyang[91] Dvijendra or Nirartha. He came from Java to the royal-court of king Dalém Watu-Enggong. He was a powerful Brāhmaṇa and became the Purohita of Dalém. The Balinese called him *Padaṇḍa Wawu Rawuh*. He was sent to Lombok island as the ambassador by Dalém.

The first Westerner who came to Bali was Corneluis Hautman and his fleet. He went to the palace in Gelgel in 1597 A.D. to seek the king's patronage. The king was happy to receive him. The peace of the kingdom was disturbed after his death. The next king was king Dalém Anom Sagéning. He reigned in the first half of seventeenth century A.D. He was succeeded by king Dalém di Madē who married the daughter of Jambē Pulē, a princess from Badung kingdom. Badung was one of his prominent vassal States. This matrimonial alliance probably strengthened his relations with Badung.

Sultan Agung of Islamic Matarām ruled in Java during this period. He marched for further expansion towards the East. Balambangan kingdom situated in the extreme East of Java was a Hindu kingdom. Sultan Agung (1613 A.D.-1645 A.D.) undertook the conquest of the Balambangan kingdom and them attacked Bali in 1639 A.D.[92] Sultan Agung's troops crossed the strait of Bali and reached the Jémbrana kingdom in extreme Western part of Bali. Balinese army most probably from Buleleng and Mengwi kingdom put up a fierce resistance. So the attack on Bali failed. The Balinese troops immediately re-occupied the whole of the territory which had been lost, including Blambangan in East Java. Thus Balambangan now became a subject of Bali.[93] Sultan Agung failed in his mission to capture Bali.[94] It appears that the main reason which led to this attack by Matarām was the need for safeguarding the sea-route to Maluku (Maluccas) islands,[95] besides spreading Islam. The second expedition of Matarām was sent in 1674 A.D. by Amangkurat I (1645-1677 A.D.). He was the son of Sultan Agung. He tried to avenge his father's defeat, but he too did not succeed.

King Dalém di Madē died before 1651 A.D. He was succeeded by king Dalém Pachékan. Dalém di Madē never enjoyed good neighbourly relations with the adjoining States. The kings of Karangasem I. Gusti Agung Māruti (Vidhya) and Mengwi consequently attacked Dalém and destroyed the royal seat of Gelgel. The son of king Dalém di Madē fled to Klungkung about 1686 A.D.

PROLIFERATION OF THE BALINESE KINGDOM

The provincial governors were already aspiring for independence during the preceding rule. These governors gradually assumed an independent position.[96] The descendants of both Ārya Damar in Tabanan and Patih Gajahmada in Mengwi declared their independence. These two were the first to declare their independency in Bali. They stopped paying tribute to Gelgel. They just recognized Gelgel as a higher king in Bali. This tendency eventually became a serious threat to the very existence of the Klungkung rule, especially after the ruler of Karangasem invaded Gelgel.

In the seventeenth century A.D. the Deva Agung dynasty was established. By this time the Klungkung authority was acknowledged in name only. Some provincial governors behaved almost like independent rulers, and gradually became completely independent. Bali was practically divided into nine autonomous kingdoms namely: Klungkung, Tabanan, Mengwi, Karangasem, Badung, Gianyar, Bangli, Jembrana and Buleleng. Since then these were very frequently fighting amongst themselves.

I. Klungkung Kingdom

The son of king Dalém di Madē, I Ddeva Agung Jambē shifted his capital from Gelgel to Smārapura. The king assumed the title of *Deva Agung.* He devided the kingdom of Klungkung into a number of vassal States such as Bangli, Gianyar, Badung, Jembrana and Buleleng. Each territory was put under the charge of a governor who was required to maintain an army. All these governors belonged to his family. The only exception being the governor of Badung I. Gusti Ngurah Jambé who was a descendant of Ārya Damar. All these vassals paid tribute and sent army in the service of the king of Klungkung. They also obeyed the kings orders and decrees.

The invasion by the ruler of Karangasem created chaos and confusion in Balinese politics and resulted in the declaration of independence by a number of vassals. The king of Karangasem attacked Klungkung twice. One of the causes behind this attack was the murder of his brother by Deva Agung. Thus Karangasem's ruler took revenge from Deva Agung. But his invasion was made futile by the Senāpati I. Gusti Jambe Pulé of Badung and Senāpati I. Gusti Pañji Śakti of Buleleng.

Towards the close of seventeenth century A.D. Deva Agung remained the king of Bali only in name. His vassals declared their independence. After some time the governor of Buleleng, a vassal of Klungkung, was driven out by the ruler of Karangasem. Badung, too, declared her independence. Deva Manggis annexed most of Gianyar. He, too, was a vassal of Klungkung, Deva Manggis declared his independence. The rulers of Tabanan and Lombok island did not formally give up their allegiance to king of Klungkung. The rulers of Mangwi, Gianyar, Bangli, and Karangasem still acknowledged the ruler of Klungkung as a superior king, but Karangasem refused to submit to his authority.[97]

The power of Klungkung was considerably weakened but its rulers continued to rule over Bangli. Now Klungkung had become a small kingdom in Bali. Even then, Deva Agung of Klungkung, descendant of a Brāhmaṇa family, appointed as governor of Bali directly by the king of Majapahit, was supposed to be of higher rank as compared to other royal families of Bali.[98]

With the loss of his vassal, Klungkung was hemmed in between two aggressive powers; the rulers of Mengwi and Karangasem. Around the second quarter to nineteenth century A.D. Klungkung was ruled by king Deva Agung Putra. He was from a Śūdra mother (Panawing).[99]

II. Mengwi Kingdom

Mengwi was founded by Patih Gajahmada. Since then it had been an independent kingdom. It grew up into a powerful kingdom and proved to be the most important among the kingdoms of Bali. The brave king of Mengwi I. Gusti Agung Made Agung Bhīma Śakti built a mighty kingdom following the policy of military aggrandisement.

The troops of Mengwi marched towards Badung and conquered Krobokan, Légian, Kuta, Jimbaran and Bukit regions. Then he turned to the East of Badung and subdued the land of Ārya Béléténg. He was reduced to the status of a vassal. Kramas, Balahbatus, Kadevatan and Marga on the borders of Mengwi soon became its part. The Mengwi ruler conquered the countries of Kapal, Kaba-kaba and Abian-sémal also. These territories were being ruled by the descendants of Ārya Waringin, Ārya Blog and Ārya Kapakisan respectively. All these countries were immediately reduced to the position of vassals and their rulers were appointed as the chiefs of their own territories. Payangan a constituent of Bangli kingdom and a vassal of Klungkung was also conquered by the king of Mengwi.[100]

Now the king of Mengwi turned his attention towards extreme East. Karangasem was next to draw his attention. It was ruled by the son of Ārya Manguri in Dauh. Karangasem was subdued and the Mengwi king appointed his brother as its ruler. It happened in the sixteenth century A.D.

It is believed that the troops of Mengwi attacked the army of Sultan Agung and Amangkurat I in Jémbrana. Mengwi's troops crossed the strait of Bali and defeated the Matarām's troops in Balambangan in East Java. Blambangan kingdom is said to have been governed by a Hindu king. It was the last Hindu kingdom in Java. Blambangan and Jémbrana kingdoms came under the direct administration of Mengwi. Now the king of Mengwi was the master of the major portion of Bali with access to the sea. She had a strong naval-army to control her vassal in Balambangan.

The ruler of Mengwi turned frequently against Badung kingdom. He sought alliances with the rulers of Karangasem and Buleleng in order to isolate Badung. He also made friendship with the king of Bangli to invade Gianyar kingdom. Therefore the rulers of Gianyar and Badung soon became allies to face Mengwi.

In the first quarter of nineteenth century A.D. Mengwi was conquered by the kings of Badung. They destroyed the palace and over-threw the king. Thus the independence and the greatness of Mengwi was lost. For some time Mengwi remained a vassal of Badung, and then it was offered to Deva Agung of Klungkung by the king of Denpasar.

III. Karangasem Kingdom

Karangasem was conquered by Mengwi towards the close of sixteenth century A.D. Since then it was being ruled by the brother of the king of Mengwi. Both the brothers were powerful rulers. They were great conquerers too. The king of Karangasem attacked Buleleng kingdom, the vassal of Dalém Gelgel. He subdued it and made his vassal. He appointed one of his brothers as the king of Buleleng. Amlapura was his capital. The king of Karangasem continued his policy of expansion. The rulers of Karangasem and Mengwi attacked the royal-court of king Dalém Gelgel. They destroyed the palace of Gelgel and forced the king to leave his kingdom. Since then Karangasem did not render feudal services to Klungkung. Due to that the power of Deva Agung of Klungkung declined. The powerful Karangasem king also exploited the weakness of the neighbouring rulers. He attacked Lombok and Sumbawa islands. The ruler of Lombok was defeated and his kingdom was annexed. The brother of the ruler of Karangasem became the king of Lombok island. The new king went to Lombok together with 5000 Balinese.

IV. Tabanan Kingdom

The descendant of Senāpati Ārya Kénchéng or Ārya Damar established his court formerly in Tambangan (Badung) and later on his great grand-son, Ārya Puchāngān shifted it to Puchāngān (Tabanan). His grand-son founded the Singhāsana dynasty. He established his independent kingdom since Ārya Kénchéng came to Bali. The Singhāsana dynasty ruled over Tabanan in the fifteenth century A.D.

One of the important events in the history of Tabanan kingdom was that its ruler subdued some parts of Badung territory including Pénatih, the territory of Ārya Béléténg about 1808 A.D. Thus Pénatih lost her independence and became a vassal of Tabanan.

In the nineteenth century A.D. I. Gusti Ngurah Agung was the king of Tabanan. He did not engage himself much in wars with the other kingdoms. Once Tabanan was defeated by the ruler of Buleleng but the enemy never entered into the territory to occupy it.

Then the king of Badung declared war on Mengwi. Tabanan entered into an alliance with Badung. Tabanan also sent an army to support Badung. They marched against Mengwi. The two armies conquered Mengwi. Tabanan's king received Marga region as his share in the loot. It was a part of Mengwi kingdom.

V. Badung Kingdom

I. Gusti Ngurah Bandhana was the Prince of Tabanan. He was the youngest son of the king of Tabanan. His grand-son, Arya Bébéd wanted to become a king. For this purpose he went for *Devaśrāya* (to seek union with the deity). First he settled in Buahan region for some time and then went to Kubontingguh. After that he went to Mount Watu-Karu, Batur Lake and then he proceeded to Badung. He stayed at the court of Tégéh-Kori in Tégal city. It was the capital of Badung kingdom. Badung was a vassal State of the king of Mengwi and afterwards of Klungkung. The successors of Tégéh-Kori dynasty[101] were weak and unwise. Therefore Prince Tégéh-Kori appointed Ārya Bébéd also known by the name of Jambé-Pulé as his Senāpati. Prince Jambé-Pulé was a strong personality and a great master in the art of politics. Gradually he increased his hold over the Tégéh-Kori dynasty. He won a number of battles. Prince Jambé-Pulé had a body of picked troops. His territory included Abian-timbul, Gélogor, Tégal and Kasīmān. Later on he moved from Tégal to Gélogor and established a kingdom of his own. He had several wives. The chief wife bore him a son named Jambé Mérik. He had two other sons born of other wives. These were, I. Gusti Ngurah Gélogor and I. Gusti Ngurah Machan Gading. He was succeeded by his son Jambé Mérik who founded the "Jambé dynasty". His capital was *Kṣatriya-Délod-Pékén* (Alāng-Badung). While his step brother I. Gusti Ngurah Gélogor still remained in the court of Gélogor. He was succeeded by his son, Prince I. Gusti Ngurah Machan Gading or Bhaṭṭāra Devatā di Watu Klotok. He was very bold and ambitious. In 1660 A.D. the joint troops of the king of Mengwi and Buleleng attacked Badung, but they were not successful.[102]

Later on Bhaṭṭāra Devatā di Watu Klotok occupied the throne of Gélogor also. A conflict ensued between him and his brother I. Gusti Ngurah Gelogor. The situation at the court turned considerably in his favour despite his not having the legitimate right to the throne as he was not born of the Chief Queen. Though his cousin had the genuine right to the throne because of the status of his mother who was the Chief Queen yet he proved unworthy of a ruler.

When there broke out a revolt against the authority of Klungkung the king of Badung, being a vassal of Klungkung, was duty bound to send troops to assist the king of Klungkung.

Bhaṭṭāra Devatā di Watu Klotok's brother, I. Gusti Ngurah Géloger, did not like to take command of the army. So Bhaṭṭāra Devatā di Watu Klotok appointed one of his sons. I. Gusti Ngurah Gédē as the Senāpati[103] of the Badung army sent to crush the rebellion. Though I. Gusti Ngurah Gédē's mother belonged to the *Panataran clans*, yet he proved himself worthy of the mission assigned to him. He won that war. Soon another rebellion arose against king Deva Agung in Watu-klotok. Prince I. Gusti Ngurah Gédē marched with an army immediately to Klungkung. The rebellion was crushed and its leader was arrested. Naturally it increased the prestige and reputation of Prince I. Gusti Ngurah Gédē. It is believed that I. Gusti Ngurah Gédē enjoyed some magical powers (Śakti).

A. ***Pamechutan Dynasty:*** As a reward for his services which he rendered to Klungkung, Prince I. Gusti Ngurah Gédē was soon granted with independent status of a king.[104] He was enthroned as the king of Bandhanarājya or Tambang-Badung.[105] He built the city of Paméchutan and shifted his capital from Gélogor to Puri Pamechutan. This change of capital heralded the dawn of a new dynasty.

King I. Gusti Ngurah Gédē succeeded in translating his ambition into reality and celebrated it by performing "*Mahāligya ceremony*" (Skt: Mahāśrāddha) for his ancestors. After this ceremony he assumed the royal title of "Mahārāja" Bhaṭṭāra Śakti Pamechutan (I). Immediately after his *abhiṣeka* (coronation) there was a revolt against him. It was led by his cousin Prince of Gélogor. He belonged to a noble mother (Prami). He felt dissatisfied with the decision of Bhaṭṭāra Devatā di Watu Klotok and the council (Sabhā) to crown Bhaṭṭāra Śakti Pamechutan (I) as the king while he himself was appointed only as Punggawa (governor). However, Bhaṭṭāra Śakti Pamechutan was coronated as the king. He had the solid support and encouragement of his followers. The rebellion was easily suppressed. Nothing more is known about this incident.

According to the "Lontar Babad Badung", he assumed the royal title of Mahārāja Bhaṭṭāra Śakti Pamechutan. This title indicated an independent status for him. He was the real founder (Vaṅśakṛta) of the Pamechutan (Padmāchyutam) dynasty. There is no denying the fact that his father Bhaṭṭāra Devatā di Watu Klotok too was a heroic prince but he was not an independent king of Badung. It is a fact that Bhaṭṭāra Śakti Pamechutan (I), was the first independent ruler of Badung kingdom. The Pamechutan dynasty can be traced back to Senāpati Ārya Damar or prince Ādityavarman of the royal family of Majapahit. He was the step brother of the prince of Kaḍiri.

If we go into the details of the origin of Pamechutan, it makes an interesting reading. Some of the scholars believe it to have been derived from *Pécut* which means the whip. Friedrich argues that king Bhaṭṭāra Śakti adopted this word because it reminded him of the peasant origins of his mother (a peasant's whip). Some others believe that the king being a friend of Lord Indra, Pamechutan signifies Indra's whip. Both arguments seem to be correct in themselves but these ignore a very logical explanation. Actually the word has close similarity with the Sanskrit Padmāchyutam meaning the lotus seat of lord Achyuta (Viṣṇu). The ancestor of king Bhaṭṭāra Śakti Pamechutan (I), the descendant of Prince Ārya Damar was the ruler of Tabanan kingdom. Tabanan means the seat or the couch. His grand son was the founder of the Siṅhāsana dynasty. The word Siṅhāsana literally means the lion seat. Now, as the founder of the Pamechutan dynasty desired to claim his heritage back to the days of his ancestors it was quite natural for him to use a similar name (Taban, Siṅhāsana, Padmāchyutam-seat) for his dynasty and Pamechutan was just this name. That is how this name Pamechutan (Pañmāchyutam) came to be used.

King Bhaṭṭāra Śakti Pamechutan (I), had five hundred wives including three chief queens. One of the chief queens was from Tangkeban (Bangli kingdom). She issued a son, Bhaṭṭāra Devatā Hyang Anulus. The second chief queen was his cousin, the princess from Glogor. She had two sons, namely; I. Gusti Ngurah Pamechutan (II) and I. Gusti Ngurah Pambahyum. In order to strengthen his own position king Bhaṭṭāra Śakti Pamechutan (I) entered into many matrimonial alliances with the important dynasties of his period. The king of Mengwi gave his daughter I. Gusti Sayu Bongan in marriage to him. After this marriage the territories of Kuta, Jimbaran, Krobokan, Dalung an Gaji were given to king Bhaṭṭāra Śakti Pamechutan (I) as dowry (Kātupātān) by the king of Mengwi. This matrimonial alliance was a master-stroke of his diplomacy. Friendly relations with the Mengwi kingdom were very valuable for the ruler of Badung because of the geographical position of the Mengwi kingdom. These new territories added to his strength and expanded the Bandhanarājya in Badung. From this marriage he had a son called I. Gusti Agung Gedé Weka.[106]

King Bhaṭṭāra Śakti Pamechutan (I) appears to have divided his kingdom into a number of principalities while himself retaining the central authority. These principalities were ruled by his sons who owed allegience to him. In this way he appointed his thirty four sons as Governors (Punggawa) and ministers (Kiyahi)[107] while he himself supervised everything in minute detail. According to the Babad Badung the thirty four sons of king Bhaṭṭāra Śakti Pamechutan (I) ruled simultaneously under his supremacy. This kind of government is called "Rāja Mabāla Rātu".

King Bhaṭṭāra Śakti Pamechutan (I) was not only a brave fighter but a great politician and administrator also. Under his reign the Bandhanarājya kingdom rose to prominence in the whole of Badung kingdom. His rule is known more for peace and social reforms. He abolished all the other castes. He declared that there was no caste higher than the royal family except the Brāhamaṇas. He also announced that all his descendants were brothers and of equal status. He declared that those, who did not submit to him will suffer his curse.[108]

King Bhaṭṭāra Śakti Pamechutan (I) had several sons. He was succeeded by his son from the second queen, I. Gusti Ngurah Pamechutan (II).[109] The eldest son, Bhaṭṭāra Devatā Hyang Anulus had died in his youth. Therefore I. Gusti Ngurah Pamechutan (II) came to the throne. His youngest brother I. Gusti Ngurah Pambahyun was appointed as the governor of Kasīmān (Kadaton). His step brother I. Gusti Ngurah Weka was made the governor of Kalēran. King I. Gusti Ngurah Pamechutan (II) after his death was known as Bhaṭṭāra Devatā di Ukiran. He was succeeded by I. Gusti Ngurah Pamechutan (III). After his death he was called Bhaṭṭāra Devatā di Muñchuk. He was succeeded by I. Gusti Gedé Raka Pamechutan (IV). He was coronated by the Purohita in the royal-court of Puri-Pamechutan and underwent the Abhiṣeka ceremony. One of the important events of his time was his attack on the Jembrana kingdom. The royal fleet was commanded by his brother I. Gusti Agung Lanang (I. Gusti Agung Gédē Rai). The reason behind this attack is not known. In this period Jembrana was a vassal of the king of Buleleng. Prince I. Gusti Agung Lanang marched to Jembrana and conquered it in 1827 A.D.[110] The king I. Gusti Ngurah Gédē pamechutan (IV) died in 1830 A.D. After his death he was called Bhaṭṭāra Devatā di Geḍong. He was succeeded by I. Gusti Gedé Lanang Pamechutan (V) or Bhaṭṭara Devatā muring Kurbhaṣana. King I. Gusti Gedé Lanang Pamechutan (V) had two daughters. He was succeeded by his nephew king I. Gusti Ngurah Gedé Pamechutan (VI). He came to the throne sometime around 1845 A.D. He married the daughters of king I. Gusti Ngurah Gédē Pamechutan (V). After his death, he was called Bhaṭṭāra Devatā di Madhardha. Princess I. Gusti Ayu Ādi was the chief queen. Since king I. Gusti Ngurah Gedé Pamechutan (VI) did not have any child, he was succeeded by his brother I. Gusti Agung Lanang Pamechutan (VII). He married the Princess of Jambe. He was succeeded by his son I. Gusti Ngurah Pamechutan (VIII). He married the Princess of Denpasar. He did not have any issue. He was succeeded by king I. Gusti Ngurah Putu Pamechutan IX.

We do not know much about the rulers of Pamechutan. From the Lontar Babad Badung, we learn that the kingdom of Badung or Bandhanarājya was quite strong and united. She never lost her territory and always enjoyed her independence. The last ruler in the Bandhanarājya was I. Gusti Ngurah Gédē Pamechutan (X). He had only one daughter and a number of nephews. The name of his daughter was I. Gusti Ayu Weka.

B. ***Denpasar Dynasty:*** The descendants of Jambé dynasty maintained a separate court and continued to set as rival of their cousins in Gelogor. A compromise between them was attempted by defining their powers but it was in vain.

The Gelogors might have attempted to drive out the "Kṣatriya-Delod-Pékén" in Badung. But they could not do it. The rulers of Kṣatriya-Délod-Pékén had conquered Penatih territory and reduced it to a vassal. It is believed that the gate of the palace of Kṣatriya-Délod-Pékén was very beautiful and that it was so high that it touched the sky.

Later on the Jambé dynasty was destroyed and the kingdom was conquered by Prince I. Gusti Ngurah Gedé Kaléran. He was the son of governor I. Gusti Ngurah Gedé Weka and a cousin of king I. Gusti Ngurah Gedé Pamechutan (III). He attacked I. Gusti Ngurah Jambé

Kṣatriya the ruler of Kṣatriya Délod-Pékén with the suport of the king of Pamechutan and king of Gianyar. The king of Kṣatriya Délod-Pékén received aid from the ruler of Mengwi. Prince of Kaléran proved to be the stronger one and overthrew the Jambé dynasty. The Jambé palace was destroyed and the king was killed. Immediately afterwards I. Gusti Ngurah Gedé Kaléran declared himself as the king of Denpasar[111] (Délod-Pékén)[112] and became the founder of Denpasar dynasty.[113] The successor of the Jambé dynasty crossed the Ayung river and built the Jero-Kuṭa royal house. Later on Jero-Kuṭa, too, became a vassal of Denpasar.

King I. Gusti Ngurah Gédē Kaleran shifted his capital from Kaleran to Denpasar. He built a new palace. From here be ruled the Eastern part of the Badung kingdom. He was survived by several wives after his death. From his chief queen, the daughter of king Pamechutan (II), he had a son named I. Gusti Ngurah Madé. He succeeded his father as king Denpasar (II). The second queen was the daughter of the Prine of Kasīmān, I. Gusti Ngurah Pambahyum Putra. She had adoped a son who was appointed as the Governor (Punggawa) of Western Kasiman.[114] The third queen was the daughter of the king of Kṣatriya-Délod-Pékén, who was murdered in the attack. She also bore him a son, I. Gusti Ngurah Jambé. While Kyayi Agung Gedé Dangin was born from the Śūdra mother. Unfortunately not much is known about the king Denpasar (II).

In the second quarter of the nineteenth century A.D. the kings of Badung[115] had to wage a war against the king of Mengwi. There was a dispute over share of water for irrigation between Badung and Mengwi. Mengwi had constructed a new canal on its territory from a river which formerly flowed in the Badung territory. It put severe constraints on Badung. So the kings became angry and declared war on Mengwi. The rulers of Tabanan and Gianyar formed a confederacy and supported the Badung kings. The Mengwi was helped by the king of Karangasem. The army of Badung was led by king I. Gusti Ngurah Denpasar (III). The Mengwi ruler was overthrown and his kingdom was divided among the allies of Badung. The Marga region was surrendered to the king of Tabanan while Kadevatan was given to the king of Gianyar. The ruler of Mengwi was allowed to rule as a vassal of Badung.

Thus Badung's rulers were successful in extending their kingdom towards the North. They strengthened their power and prestige and built up a strong kingdom. Since then Mengwi became a part of Badung. The heroic king of Denpasar died in the year 1829 A.D. After his death he was called Bhaṭṭāra Devatā-muring-Dharma-Kṣatriya. He left only one son of noble birth (Prami). His name was I. Gusti Ngurah Gedé Putra. He died in his youth. The other sons were borne from the Śūdra mother.[116] They wore the title of "Salit".[117] Thus only the Prince of Western Kasīmān, the cousin of the king of Denpasar (III) was of royal birth. Due to this, the Prince of Western Kasīmān and Denpasar were engaged in a struggle for supremacy, with no result.

After the death of king Denpasar (III), he was succeeded by I. Gusti Agung Gedé Weka, the half-brother of the crown Prince I. Gusti Ngurah Gedé Putra. But the king of Pamechutan and the prince of Western Kasīmān did not tolerate him. Consequently, he fled to Tabanan and from there to the Bangli kingdom. The king of Bangli proved to be a worthy ally. To strengthen his position he released the Mengwi kingdom from vassal of Badung and it was given to king Deva Agung of Klungkung. Due to this, king Deva Agung recognised I. Gusti Ngurah Gedé Weka as the king of Denpasar. He also received help from Mengwi and Karangasem. He succeeded his father as king Denpasar (IV). He married the daughter of the Prince of Western Kasīmān.

King Denpasar (IV) was succeeded by his half-brother I. Gusti Madé Ngurah as king Denpasar (V) around the middle of the nineteenth century A.D. His accession to the throne was followed by some conflict. His half-brothers, from the Śūdra mother, I. Gusti Ketut Ngurah and I. Gust Ngurah Ketut were also desirous for the throne. I. Gusti Ketut Ngurah got support from the Punggawa, while the king Denpasar (V) invoked the aid of Prince of Western Kasīmān. This conflict continued for some time.

VI. Gianyar Kingdom

Gianyar kingdom was the vassal of Klungkung. Later on the governor of Gianyar, Deva Manggis declared his independence and founded the Manggis dynasty. He started his career virtually alone without any support from other vassals such as governors of Sukawati (Sukhavatī) and Pejeng. His charismatic leadership was soon recognised. He died in 1820 A.D.[118] He was survived by several wives and children and was succeeded by his son Deva Pahang. Not much is known about his reign. He was known as Deva Manggis II and was succeeded by his son Deva Manggis III. The process of the strengthening of the power of Gianyar continued under successive regimes and by the time of Deva Manggis IV it had become a strong kingdom.

Deva Manggis (IV) came to the throne between 1867 A.D. to 1885 A.D. He was supported by an astute humble man Madé Chédok. With his help the king could subdue the royal-houses of Pejeng, Sukhavati, Blahbatuh, Peliatan and Ubud. He expanded his territory and annexed those regions which once had been under the Klungkung kingdom. He was the first paramount king to be able to levy a direct tax.

It is true that Gianyar was a powerful State, but her ruler failed to foresee the danger from other vassals. The ruler of Peliatan, a vassal of Klungkung, helped king Deva Agung of Klungkung to recover his territories won over by Gianyar. He persuaded Deva Manggis to pay a visit to king Deva Agung, and guaranteed his safe conduct. While Deva Manggis (IV) was on his way to the court of Klungkung he was captured and put in jail in (K)ṣatriya village. He died about 1891 A.D.

Gianyar had to fight a number of wars with other kingdoms such as Bangli and Mengwi. There had been an alliance of Gianyar and Badung all along. When the kings of Badung conquered Mengwi, the king of Gianyar supported Badung with his army. The result was that, Kadevatan was surrendered to the king of Gianyar.

VII. Bangli Kingdom

Bangli formerly was a vassal of the Klungkung kingdom. It was successively ruled by the descendants of Deva Agung from his Śūdra wives. The ruler of Bangli was Deva Gedé Tangkeban. He was the governor of Bangli. In later times about 1800 A.D. the ruler of Bangli had a dispute with king Deva Agung of Klungkung. Under these circumstances, the ruler of Bangli entered into some sort of alliance with the kings of Tabanan and Badung. He declared his independence. Bangli was the last among the vasslas of Klungkung to become free about 1840 A.D.

VIII. Buleleng Kingdom

At different periods of history Buleleng was ruled by a number of dynasties. One of the earliest Buleleng dynasties mentioned in the *Babad* was the royal family of Deva Agung. It, then, occupied large parts of Northern Bali including Jembrana in the extreme west of Bali.

Later on Buleleng was conquered by the Pañji dynasty which was founded by Ārya Belētēng. His capital was Sukhasada. Afterwards I. Gusti Ngurah Pañji Śakti, king of Buleleng, was captured by the rulers of Mengwi and Karangasem, and then rose the Jelantik dynasty. His capital was Siṅharāja. In the second quarter of nineteenth century A.D. Buleleng was ruled by the brother of the king of Karangasem. Most probably the name of the ruler was I. Gusti Ngurah Made Karangasem or I. Gusti Gede Ngurah Ratna-ning-Rāt. He was a capable and powerful ruler. The Dutch were worried on account of the mighty king of Bali, whose territories had already expanded beyond Bali to the West and the East. Since 1750 A.D. most of the Indonesian archipelago was under the rule of the Dutch East Indies. Bali and Lombok were the only independent islands in Indonesia. Therefore the Dutch aspired to conquer Bali. But it was not an easy task.

In 1846, the Dutch request to permit their ships to anchor on the coast of Buleleng was turned down by I. Gusti Patih Ketut Jelantik. The Dutch now decided to send an expedition and brought an army of about 1800 soldiers. The army of Buleleng fought bravely against the Dutch invaders. E.S. de Klerck writes: "The Balinese were reckoned among the bravest, best disciplined and organized native foes the Dutch army ever had to fight against in the Archipelago".

The Dutch troops were defeated and were forced to run away from Bali. But Buleleng lost 2000 men in this war fought in June 1848. 1849 witnessed another expedition from the Dutch. The king of Buleleng was a heroic leader. He made preparation on a large scale. The brave Balinese again put up a stiff resistance. E.S. de Klerch observes: "Never before had so strong a force been pitted against a native enemy".[119]

After a series of battles the king of Buleleng was ultimately defeated. He was forced to acknowledge the Dutch authority.[120] Thus the Dutch Suzerainty was first acknowledged in Bali by the ruler of Buleleng in 1849 A.D.[121] Buleleng later on served as an ally of the Dutch in

North Bali and it was used again and again as a tool in breaking the unity of the Balinese kingdoms. And it proved to be a good tool indeed. The Jembrana kingdom in West Bali was the next to fall only to be put under the direct rule of the Dutch around 1882 A.D. Thus, North and West Bali became parts of the Dutch empire. Only South and East Bali remained independent.

THE LAST HINDU KINGDOM

One the eve of the Dutch invasion of Bali in the first half of nineteenth century A.D. Bali comprised of a number of kingdoms which were always fighting among themselves. They were so jealous of one other, that they could not put up a united front against the Dutch invaders. This lack of unity proved to be fatal and paved the way for Dutch supremacy.

One of the causes of the down-fall of the Balinese kingdoms was the invasion of the Dutch from the North and the West of Bali. The Dutch had already conquered and established their control over the West and North Bali. Unfortunately the rulers of East and South Bali fought amongst themselves. It was under these circumstances that the Dutch successfully extended their sway over the whole of Bali. They exploited the situation well, either by instigating the local rulers to quarrel amongst themselves or by bribing them, using the trick of divide and rule.

The quarrel between the rulers of Gianyar and his neighbours was an old one. As the descendants of king Deva Manggis in Gianyar wanted to take back the throne of Gianyar, a dispute arose between Gianyar and Klungkung. But Klungkung and Bangli were united against him. The ruler of Gianyar sought the help of the Dutch in 1899 A.D.[122] This was a welcome invitation to the Dutch for which they had been waiting for a long time. The protection provided by the Dutch turned out to be an annexation.

Later on the rulers of both Gianyar and Karangasem had to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Dutch. They surrendered without any resistance. Once the treaty of peace was signed, the rulers of Gianyar and Karangasem became a friend of the Dutch. Because of this, they were allowed to retain their kingdoms. Now South Bali alone remained independent. It included the Badung, Tabanan and Klungkung kingdoms. But as misfortune had struck Bali, the Dutch were soon provided with an opportunity to interfere in this region also. A small Chinese ship *Śrī Kamala* was wrecked on Sanur beach in Badung in 1904. It is said that it was looted by the people of Sanur. The Chinese owner of the ship held the Dutch Government responsible, who in turn demanded that kings of Badung should pay a damage of £ 3000.

The kings of Pamechutan and Denpasar were asked to accept the Chinese proposals to pay compensation for their loss. While some of the Badung's Princes and people were willing to accept the proposal the kings of Pamechutan and Denpasar rejected it and did not bow down in front of the Dutch pressure, because the people of Sanur said it under oath that they were not responsible for the ship wreck. The kings of Badung chose war for the honour and dignity of the country. The kings asked the people and princes to take a vow to do *Puputān* (fight unto death).[123] Everybody was ready to fight against the Dutch for the sake of his country's prestige. The patriotic breeze was blowing over the whole Badung kingdom.

But the Dutch took them all unawares when they suddenly appeared in Sanur beach with a fleet of vessels on September 15, 1906. The Dutch navy bombared the city of Pamechutan and Denpasar from Sanur beach. A few days later the Dutch army marched to Tanjung-bungkak region. Badung troops were defeated in Tanjung-bungkak. Kasīmān was the next to fall. There was some resistance at Kadaton, but the Princes of East and West Kasīmān were defeated. The day before the Dutch army reached the cities of Pamechutan and Denpasar, the kings ordered the people to destroy the cities and every thing which was valuable. The palaces were set on fire to avoid its plunder by the Dutch army.

On November 20, 1906 the Dutch army moved into the city of Denpasar. All the members of the royal family of Denpasar including the king, I. Gusti Alit Ngurah Denpasar (VI), Purohitas and the people even women and children, fought bravely in the long avenue in Denpasar, with their traditional arms. Ultimately they were defeated and the king was gunned down. After defeating the king of Denpasar, the direction of the Dutch troops was changed. They left Denpasar in the afternoon and crossed the Ayung river with the intention of moving towards the city of Pamechutan.

The king of Pamechutan and his daughter. I. Gusti Ayu Weka followed by all the members of the royal family, Purohitas, men, women and children went to the battle field. They had put on warrior's dress and adorned themselves with jewels and gold. They had daggers (Kris) and spears in their hands and plunged themselves into the battle field. The brave Badung people put up a stiff resistance. They preferred death to disgrace. There was a Bloody battle. One by one the heroic and patriotic Badung people were gunned down. The Dutch massacred a large number of people. The king of Pamechutan and his daughter were shot dead in the battle-field.

At the end of the war the wounded people and the members of royal family crawled in pile to die upon the body of the king. They stabbed themselves near the king's body. This however did not desist the Dutch from spreading death and destruction. The kingdoms of Pamechutan and Denpasar perished with their kings. The Dutch won the battle after tasting a terrible moral defeat.[124]

After conquering Badung kingdom, the Dutch began to draw a plan of capturing the rest of Bali. The next expedition was launched against the king of Tabanan. Its king met the Dutch troop on the way. He was willing to surrender, but the Dutch troops were not willing even to accept the surrender. The king of Tabanan and his son were arrested and made prisoners. They felt deeply humiliated. The following morning the king and his son were found dead, having cut their own throat with *Panyawisan*[125]

In 1908, the Dutch launched their last attack against king Deva Agung of Klungkung. King Deva Agung did not like to surrender to the Dutch. He wanted to follow the way shown by the kings of Pamechutan and Denpasar. A fierce bettle ensued. Deva Agung's army was defeated. The king was killed and the capital was plundered. Thus the last independent Hindu kingdom in Indonesia came to an end in 1908.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Louis Finot; *Hindu Kingdoms in Indo-china*, IHQ, Vol. I., No. 4, p. 620.
2. Siddhayatra: Ordinarily the expression means pilgrimage for securing successful completion of a project with the aid of magical or spiritual power. But here it means 'Jayasiddhayatra' i.e. a Siddhayatra for victory.
3. The name Balidvīpa first appears in the Blanjong-inscription dated Śaka 836. This name was officially used in 914 A.D.
4. R.C. Majumdar; *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, p. 27, for details see, Upendra Thakur, *The Kauṇḍinya Legend in South-East Asia* in Some Aspects of Asian History and Culture, Chap. II.
5. H.B. Sarkar; *Some Contribution of India to the Ancient Civilization of Indonesia and Malaysia*, p. 45.
6. Louis Finot; *Hindu Kingdoms in Indo-china*, IHQ, Vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 611-612.
7. G. Coédes; *The Indianized States of South-East Asia*, p. 36.
8. Upendra Thakur, *op. cit.* Chap. II.
9. R.C. Majumdar; *Ancient Indian Colonization in South-East Asia*, p. 33.
10. G. Coédes; *The Indianized State of South-East Asia*, p. 129.
11. O.W. Wolters; *Early Indonesian Commerce*, p. 197.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 198.
13. Colonel G.E. Gerini; *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, p. 494.
14. O.W. Wolters; *Early Indonesian Commerce*, p. 199.
15. Buddha Prakash; *India and the World*, p. 118.
16. O.W. Wolters; *Early Indonesian Commerce*, p. 198.
17. *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia*, II, editor, Bambang Sumadio, p. 134.
18. R.C. Majumdar; *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, p. 26.
19. B.R. Chatterji; *History of Indonesia*, p. 35.
20. Colonel G.E. Gerini; *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, p. 110.
21. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri; *History of Srivijaya*, p. 23.
22. Colonel G.E. Gerini; *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, p. 493.
23. Buddha Prakash; *India and the World*, p. 114.
24. H.B. Sarkar; *Some Contribution of India to the Ancient Civilization of Indonesia and Malaysia, p. 46.*
25. Satyawati Suleiman; *Sedjarah Indonesia*, Djilid 1A, p. 64.
26. R.C. Majumdar; *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, p. 44.
27. H.G. Quaritch Wales; *The Making of Greater India*, p. 90.
28. J.G. de Casparis; *Prasasti Indonesia*, II. pp. 123-124.
29. *Dynamics of Indonesian History*, Edited by Haryati Soebadio and Carine A. du Marchie Sarvas, p. 68.
30. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy; *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 203.
31. J.G. De Casparis; *Indonesian Palaeography*, pp. 60-61.
32. N.D. Pandit Shastri; *Sedjarah Bali Dwipa*, Djilid 1, p. 24.
33. *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia*, II, Editor, Bambang Sumadio, p. 136.
34. R. Goris; *Ancient History of Bali*, p. 5.
35. It perhaps corresponds to the royal council (Sabhā) as mentioned in the Rāmāyana which had the Rajakarti (ruler) along with the Senāpati (councilor) and the Purohita (royal chaplin) as its members.
36. I.G.B. Sugriwa, *Babad Pasek*, (Terjemahan), pp. 5-6.
37. Satyawati Suleiman; *Sedjarah Indonesia*, Djilid IB, p. 99.

38. *Dynamics of Indonesian History;* Edited by Haryati Soebadio and Carine A.du Marchie Sarvaas, p. 74.
39. R.Goris; *Ancient History of Bali*, p. 9.
40. R. Goris; *Prasasti Bali II*, p. 10.
41. N.D. Pandit Shastri; *Sedjarah Bali Dwipa*, Djilid I, pp. 32-33.
42. B.R. Chatterji; *History of Indonesia* (Early and Medieval), p. 22.
43. According to Goris "The place where justice is administered; the persons assembled to administer justice (court). The "Court" and "Council" are translation of Old-Balinese panglapuan.
44. N.D. Pandit Shastri; *Sedjarah Bali Dwipa*, Djilid I, p. 28.
45. G. Coédes; *The Indianized States of South-East Asia*, p. 129.
46. N.D. Pandit Shastri; *Sedjarah Bali Dwipa*, Djilid I, p. 38.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
48. R. Goris; *Ancient History of Bali*, p. 16.
49. M.D. Pandit Shastri; *Sedjarah Bali Dwipa*, Djilid I, p. 39.
50. R. Goris; *Ancient History of Bali*, p. 18.
51. R. Goris; *Ancient History of Bali*, p. 18.
52. R. Goris, *Ancient History of Bali*, p. 18.
53. G.S.P. Freeman-Grenvile; *Chronology of World History*, p. 225.
54. Bernard H.M. Vlekke; *Nusantara*, (A History of Indonesia), p. 42.
55. G. Coédes; *The Indianized States of South-East Asia*, p. 130.
56. N.D. Pandit Shastri; *Sedjarah Bali Dwipa*, Djilid I, p. 43.
57. G.S.P. Freeman-Grenvile; *Chronology of World History*, p. 233.
58. R. Goris; *Ancient History of Bali*, p. 23.
59. B.R. Chatterji; *History of Indonesia* (Early and Medieval), p. 36.
60. *Skandapūraṇa*, V, 6-24.
61. N.D. Pandit Shastri; *Sedjarah Bali Dwipa*, Djilid I, p. 48.
62. G.Coédes; *The Indianized States of South-East Asia*, p. 145.
63. *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia*, II, Edisi ke 2, Editor, Bambang Sumadio, p. 146.
64. Bernard H.M. Vlekke; *Nusantara* (A History of Indonesia), p. 47.
65. *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia*, II, Edisi ke 2, Editor Bambang Sumadio, p. 145.
66. Satyawati Suleiman; *Sedjarah Indonesia*, p. 161.
67. R. Goris; *Ancient History of Bali*, p. 31.
68. *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia*, II, Edisi ke 2, Editor, Bambang Sumadio, p. 147.
69. *Bali, Further Studies in Life, Thought and Ritual*, Edited by J. Van Baal, p. 79.
70. R. Goris; *Ancient History of Bali*, p. 34.
71. R.C. Majumdar; *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, p. 82.
72. R. Goris; *Ancient History of Bali*, p. 38.
73. D.N. Pandit Shastri; *Sedjarah Bali Dwipa*, Djilid I, pp. 72-73.
74. R. Goris; *Ancient History of Bali*, p. 41.
75. G. Coédes; *The Indianized States of South-East Asia*, p. 186-187.
76. F.J. Moorhead; *History of Malaya and Her Neighbours*, Vol. I, p. 96.
77. B.R. Chatterji; *History of Indonesia*, p. 37.
78. R.C. Majumdar; *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, p, 54.

79. This title was commonly used for governors in the Hindu kingdom of East Java.
80. I. Gusti Ayu Surasmi; *Perkembangan Tantrisme di Indonesia,* (Thesis for M.A. level), pp. 86 and 123.
81. *Bali, Further Studies in Life, Thought and Ritual,* Edited by J.Van Baal, p. 103.
82. Satyawati Suleiman; *Sedjarah Indonesia,* Djilid, I. p. 220.
83. *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia* II, Edisi ke 2 Editor, Bambang Sumadio, p. 160.
84. The six Āryas (Ṇoble) namely; Ārya Sentong, Ārya Belĕtĕng Ārya Waringin, Ārya Belog, Ārya Kepakisān and Ārya Beñchuluk.
85. R. Friedrich; *The Civilization and Culture of Bali,* p. 115.
86. D.G.E. Hall; *A History of South-East Asia,* p. 77.
87. R.C. Majumdar; *Hindu Colonies in the Far East,* p. 66.
88. *Bali, Further Studies in Life, Thought and Ritual,* Edited by J. van Baal, p. 92.
89. Hildred Geertz, and Clifford Geertz *Kinship in Bali,* p. 9.
90. B.R. Chatterji; *History of Indonesia,* (Early and Medieval), p. 34.
91. Name of a Guru or teacher is introduced by the prefix Dang Hyang.
92. Arun Bhattacharjee; *Greater India,* p. 43.
93. B. Schrieke; *Indonesian Sociological Studies,* part I, p. 60.
94. D.G.E. Hall; *A History of South-East Asia,* p. 254.
95. B. Schrieke; *Indonesian Sociological Studies,* part I, p. 60.
96. Arun Bhattacharjee; *Greater India,* p. 43.
97. R. Friedrich; *The Civilization and Culture of Bali,* pp. 119-120.
98. Hildred Geertz and Clifford Geertz; *Kinship in Bali,* p. 34.
99. R. Friedrich; *The Civilization of Bali,* p. 120.
100. *Babad Mengwi,* (On Kavi-language on the Palm-leaves), a collection in Bali Musuem, Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia, pp. 35a and 35b.
101. Tegeh-Kori was the first dynasty to rule over Badung kingdom.
102. *Babad Buleleng* (On Kavi-language on Palm-leaves), a collection in Bali Museum, Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia, p. 19b.
103. A peculiar characteristic of the Hindu Balinese people was the flexibility in their social structure, for absence of the caste system, which developed in the Brāhmaṇic period in India. "Brāhmanās could associate with the Vratyas, the Rājanya could admit the Śudra girl to the harem, the Vaiśya and Śūdras could be promoted to gubernatorial office".
104. R. Friedrich; *The Civilization and Culture of Bali,* p. 129.
105. "Bandhanarājya" means the "United kingdom". In Balinese, it is called "Tāmbāng-Bādung". Bādung means "fort", "town" or "kingdom". "Tāmbāng" means "roope", the symbol of Union. The city of Pamechutan was also called Bandhanapura. This name was used till 1771 A.D.
106. Wékā (Oka), Rākā or Rai are not exactly names. However these are titles of a royal family. These names alone were sufficient to identify the rank of the person in the Royal family. Besides, Wekā, Rākā and Rai mean son, elder brother and younger brother respectively in Kavi language.
107. The Princes who were made ministers bore the title of Kyayi.
108. Informant late Ida Anak Agung Putu Oka Manek, Puri Gerenceng, Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia.
109. We have used Pamechutan II in order to avoid confusion because the successors were also called Pamechutan.
110. R. Friedrich; *The Civilization and Culture of Bali,* p. 134.
111. Denpasar was the fourth dynasty which rose in Badung after the collapse of the Jambé dynasty.
112. Actually the meaning of "Délod-Pékĕn" or "Denpasar" is the Northern Market.
113. R. Friedrich; *The Civilization and Culture of Bali,* p. 130.

114. After this marriage the territory of I. Gusti Ngurah Pambahyun was divided. Eastern Kasīmān was ruled by his son and Western Kasīmān was ruled by his son-in-law from Denpasar.
115. In Badung there had always been a twin kingdom.
116. R. Friedrich; *The Civilization and Culture of Bali*, p. 136.
117. Every member of the Denpasar dynasty born from the Śūdra mother was called "Sālit". This word perhaps has been derived from "Sāh" means "portion" or "broken" and "Alit" means "Small".
118. Hildred Geertz and Clifford Geertza; *Kinships in Bali*, p. 121.
119. Doraty Woodman; *The Republic of Indonesia*, p. 111.
120. Doraty Woodman; *The Republic of Indonesia*, p. 111.
121. R.C. Majumdar; *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, p. 84.
122. Clifford Geertz; *Nagara* (The Theatre State in Nineteenth Century Bali), p. 39.
123. "Puputān" has been derived from the word "Puput" which means "Finish".
124. Doroty Woodman; *The Republic of Indonesia*, p. 112.
125. Panyawisan means instrument usually used to smash betels in a cask before it is taken by old people.

4

Balinese Hinduism

BALINESE Hinduism has been very much, shaped and influenced by the Hinduism of India. So no account of Balinese Hinduism would be complete or illuminating unless it is preceded by a brief picture of the Indian background which had exercised a great sway over it.

INDIAN SYSTEM OF VARṆA

According to Dr. Gokhale "the word 'caste', is of comparatively late origin. It was first used by the Portuguese to imply a social arrangement designed to preserve purity of blood".[1] Regarding the origin of the caste system in ancient times, R.C. Dutt says," It was unknown to the Hindus in the Vedic age, and was first developed in the Epic age. It divided and disunited the compact body of Āryan Hindus into three hereditary bodies, viz; the priest, the soldiers and the people. It permanantly placed the people under the priestly and military caste; and there by hindered popular progress and the growth of popular freedom in India". Thus the origin of caste is obscure in the Hindu society. Most probably the original idea of Varṇa was based on the difference of complexion. The word Varṇa originally meant colour. Some scholars suggest that it refers to the Varṇa distinction between the Āryan and the aboriginies in the earliest stage of the Vedic period.[2] But later on when the process of inter-marriage between the Āryans and the natives gathered momentum, all these distinctions of colour and complexion were left meaningless. Consequently, in the new society which emerged as a result of the above mentioned phenomenon, the concept of Varṇa assumed a new dimension, which was altogether different from the notion held previously.[3]

The Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata provides a description of the Varṇas. According to it a Brāhmaṇa should have a fair complexion. While the Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras are supposed to bear red, yellow and black[4] complexions respectively. Patañjali, too, has laid down the criterion that those with white complexion are Brāhmaṇas.[5] But, it seems, that all these concepts belong to a later period and that originally the classification of the Hindu society was not based on the colour of the skin, but on the social functions which one performed. It becomes all the more evident from the fact that not even a single text of the Ṛig Vedic period has used the word 'Varṇa'. Even the 'Puruṣa-sūkta' does not carry any reference to it.[6]

Hinduism classifies human beings into three types on the basis of the predominance of any of the three characteristics (Triguṇas) which are common to all. These are Sattvas (purity), Rajas (activity) and Tamas (dullness). The dominant or the recessive character of these qualities varies from person to person. The quality of Sattva implies that a man should be pious and virtuous and should lead a religious life. Accordingly, he will be classified as a Brāhmaṇa. Similarly, persons with predominance of Rajas will be categorised as Kṣatriyas. They possess a heroic quality. Tamasic men are those in whom tamas dominates and who possess business acumen. They are called Vaiśyas. If none of these Triguṇas is developed in his personality, he is called a Śūdra.[7] Thus the Varṇa system is based on the quality, aptitude and the profession of the person. To put it differently, the system of Varṇa is based on quality and action. But a particular Varṇa did not imply either superior or inferior status. It was simply a matter of performing one's own duties efficiently. The original concept of Varṇa is credited with divine origin and it was thought to be based on Guṇas (character) and Karmas (conduct), and not on birth.

In the words of the Bhagavatgītā:

> "Chaturvarṇyam mayā sṛṣṭam
> guṇa karma vibhāgaśah.
> tasya kartāramapi mām
> viddhyakartāramavyayam"[8]

Yudhiṣṭhira says to Nahuṣa in the Anuśāsanaparva of the Mahābhārata, "truth, charity, fortitude, good conduct, gentleness, austerity and compassion, he, in whom these are observed, is a Brāhmaṇa. If these marks exist in a Sūdra, and are not found in a twice-born, the Śūdra is not a Śūdra, nor the Brāhmaṇa a Brāhmaṇa".[9]

The Puruṣa-sukta, the tenth book of Ṛig Veda, cites, "The Brāhmaṇa proceeds from mouth of the Purusa, the Rajanya from both his arms, the Vaisya from both his thighs, and the Sūdras from his feet".[10]

It seems that the Brāhmaṇa, who came from the mouth of the Puruṣa, is a man of intellect. The Kṣatriya accordingly symbolises strength. The Vaiśya from the thighs of Puruṣa indicates desire, and the Śūdra from the feet symbolizes service. These four Varṇas originate from different parts of the body of one single Puruṣa, implying closeness among all the four. But at the same time, they are all independent of one another and have their specific duties (Svadharama). The different Varṇas were designed to promote the harmonious functioning of society. The strong protected the weak, and the intelligentsia looked after the ignorant people. Thus the four Varṇas as mentioned in the Puruṣa-sukta can not be said to denote castes in the sense in which it is understood in modern time.

Originally these Varṇas did not have water-tight boundaries. These were relatively open demarcations and we do come across instances of inter-varṇa movement. The author of Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa cited that king Janaka of Videha became a Brāhmaṇa through the initiation of Ṛṣi Yajñavalkya.[11] It appears that even during the post-Vedic period the caste system was flexible enough and that one's functions determined his Varṇa. But with the passage of time it became hereditary. And later on a son usually followed his father's profession. In the words of Paul Masson-Oursel, "A caste is a group of persons traditionally given up to the same occupations, drawing their origin from the same human or divine ancestor, and, bound in one body, determined rights, duties and opinions, inherited from their tradition".[12] And subsequently these distinctions acquired the title of "Jāti" because one belonged to one's caste right from the time of one's birth.[13]

The system of Varṇa lays down a four-fold division of society (Chaturvarṇa), namely: Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. Only the first three castes were considered to be Āryans and classified as "Dvijāti" (twice-born), because these three believed to have two births, one from the womb of the mother and the other from the initiation into studying of Vedas. The study of Vedas was prohibited for the Śūdras. They were "Ekajāti" (once-born).[14]

A Brāhmaṇa was considered to be a man of learning. He used to protect the society by his spiritual powers. The Kṣatriya was thought as a man of action. He protected and preserved by his arms the lives of the people.[15] Kālidāsa says that "the men who belong to this caste was given the epithet of Kṣatriyas because they were requested to protect others".[16] The Vaiśya had managerial skills of business and their professions were trade, agriculture and cattle breeding.[17] The Śūdras were required to engage in manual labour.

Vasiṣṭha warned, "No-one is Brāhmaṇa without knowing the Ṛig Veda, for as said in the sloka, a twice born who without reading the Vedas devotes himself to something else, becomes a Śūdra in this very life. A person does not become a Śūdra merely by trade or lending money on interest or engaging as a physician".[18]

I. Caste System in Bali

At present it has been fully established by various scholars and there is no doubt about it that the caste system existed in Bali from the very beginning. The emergence of this system has to be seen as an influence of the caste system of the Indian Society. It seems that the Kṣatriyas and the Brāhmaṇas as castes had been well organised at least long before the sixth century A.D. Their strength was apparently reinforced by the influx of Indian immigrants. The Chinese Annals mentioned that Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriya ruled over Bali. The founder of the Balinese dynasty as informed by the Balinese sources, it seems, was a Kṣatriya who assumed the title of *Varmā*. From Buyan-Angga-Tarunyan inscription we learn that the Balinese Brāhmaṇas bore the title of *Śarmā* also.[19] Both these titles are commonly used in India. The Vāyū and Viṣṇu Purāṇas narrate as below:

Tatśva nām kuvIt pitaeva daśame hani
devapurvam nerākhyam hi Śarmavarmādisaṁ yutam
Śarmeti Brāhmaṇa syoktam, varmeti kṣotrasaṁ
Śrayam Guptadāsātmataṁ nama praśastam vaiśya-śudrayoh".[20]

"Next, upon the tenth day after birth, let the father give a name to his child; the first term of which shall be the appellation of a God, the second of man, as Śarmā or Varman; the former being the appropriate designation of Brāhmaṇa, the latter of a warrior; whilst Gupta and Dāsa are best fitted for the names of Vaiśyas and Śūdras".[21]

We learn that the kings and Purohitas in Bali bore the surname of Varmā and Śarmā respectively. Both these evidences undoubtedly indicate the existence of the Kṣatriya and Brāhmaṇa castes in Bali.

From the tenth century A.D. onwards the caste system seems to have been fully established. The existence of four Varṇas is confirmed by the Bali-inscription of king Anak Wungsu who ruled Bali from 1050 A.D. to 1078 A.D.[22] It narrates as below:

> "Yawat ikang wwang durachara tan yatna ri anugraha paḍuka haji irikang karaman i bila, sepasuk thani Brāhmaṇa Kṣatriya Vaiśya Śū(d)ra, hadyan hulun.[23]

This inscription very clearly mentions the order of the caste system in Bali. Thus by this period the system of Chaturvarṇa was very much there in Balinese life.

However, the Balinese caste system was not as rigid as its Indian counterpart. On the contrary, it was relatively permissive and flexible. It was not very uncommon to come across a Brāhmaṇa marrying a Kṣatriya girl. Even the Kṣatriya males could marry Brāhmaṇa maidens.[24] The latter phenomenon is called *Patigni*. Even Manu spoke of this type of marriage relation and according to him the child born of such marriage was to be called *Suta*.[25] Yajñavalkya, the famous Indian sage, too, allowed such a matrimonial alliance in which a girl belonging to the higher caste is married to a lower caste male. It must be admitted that the Indian society, too, rigid as it was in its enforcement of the caste system, was much more flexible in ancient times as compared to the medieval India. We have on record that a king belonging to the Gupta dynasty was allowed to marry the daughter of Kadambas who were Brāhmaṇas.[26] To a certain extent there existed inter-changeability in different castes. The Mahābhārata mentions that Viśvāmitra, a Kṣatriya king, later on become a Brāhmaṇa.

It is traditionally believed that if a Śūdra married a Brāhmaṇa girl and the progenies too did the same and for seven generations the same sort of matrimonial alliance is struck then the Śūdra will be entitled to become a Brāhmaṇa. Similarly, a Brāhmaṇa too could become a Śūdra. This belief is in concurrence with a similar principle expostulated in Manusmṛti.[27]

Modern Balinese society permits inter-caste marriage though inter-dining is prohibited. Only men of the same caste are allowed to eat together (Magibung). The Balinese society accordingly has to be classified after the Indian pattern. It is divided into four Varṇas namely, Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra.[28] There are no Chaṇḍalas or Pariahs (untouchables) in Bali. These four castes are known as Chatur Vaṅśa or Chatur Janma. The first three came to be known as Trivaṅśa (Trivarṇa).[29] While the Śūdras are called "Kaula" (ordinary man), Wong-Jaba (Outsider). This order has been mentioned by Manu. "The Brāhmaṇa, the Kṣatriya and the Vaiśya castes are the twice-born ones, but the fourth, the Śūdra has one birth only; there is no fifth (Caste).[30]

As far as Brāhmaṇa is concerned, to day, there are two kinds of Brāhmaṇas in Bali, the Śaivite Brāhmaṇa (Brāhmaṇa-Śiva) and Buddhist Mahāyana Brāhmaṇa (Brāhmaṇa-Buddha).[31] Most probably both these branches of Brāhmaṇas are the descendents of the same Indian Brāhmaṇas who migrated to Bali in ancient times.

According to tradition Śaivite-Brāhmaṇas are further subdivided into five principal fāmilies (Gotras) or classes. All these Brāhmaṇas trace their descent from Brāhmaṇa Ḍang Hyang Dvijendra (Ḍang Hyang Nirartha) also called Padaṇḍa Wawu Rawuh.[32] He came from Java to Bali. His off-springs are Brāhmaṇa-Kāménuh, Brāhmaṇa-Kānitēn, Brāhmaṇa-Mānuābā, Brāhmaṇa-Mās and Brāhmaṇa-Pātāpān.[33]

Brāhmaṇa-Kāménuh was born from a Brāhmaṇa mother from Kaḍiri (Java). She belonged to the Bhṛgu gotra. Brāhmaṇa-Kaménuh is recognized as the eldest among the all Balinese Brāhmaṇas. His descendents are mainly to be found in Buleleng district. Brāhmaṇa-Mānuābā was also born from a Brāhmaṇa mother, from Pasuruan (East Java). His progenies spread far and wide and settled in the districts of Badung, Tabanan, Gianyar, Karangasem and Klungkung. Brāhmaṇa-Kanitēn had a Kṣatriya mother from Banyuwangi (East Java). Gianyar is the place where all those who claim Brāhmaṇa-Kanitēn as their ancestor have settled down. Brāhmaṇa-Mās and Brāhmāṇa-Pātāpān had a Śūdra and a slave respectively as their mothers and both belonged to Bali.

The Buddhist Mahāyana Brāhmaṇas also came from Java and their off-springs are found only in Karangasem district. They are called "Brāhmaṇa-Buddha-Kaliṅga".

All the Brāhmaṇas depended upon the kings for their livelihood. They might follow them to war and may be appointed as ambassadors and judges. Their main occupation was performing of sacrifices and providing religious instructions.[34] Later on, they played a prominent part in the judicial system of Bali (Kṛta).[35] All these features have been characteristics of Brāhmaṇas according to the ancient Indian caste system.

The Kṣatriyas enjoy the second highest place in the system of Varṇa. Like the Indian Kṣatriyas, the Balinese, too were not pure Kṣatriyas. In India, during the Puranic period, there were number of powerful foreign dynasties such as Kuṣāṇas, Bactrians and Śakas which were absorbed into the Hindu fold as Rājput or Kṣatriya.[36] A similar process took place in Bali. According to W.F. Stutterheim, "small domains appeared, governed by Indian or Indianized Princes, in which only the members of the Court had to have Indian blood in their veins".[37] The

Balinese Kṣatriyas no doubt came from Java in a small group in the last quarter of the fourteenth century A.D. Most of them were the descendents of Kṣatriya Ārya Damar, Brāhmaṇa Kapakisan[38] and the six Āryas from Majapahit empire who were the rulers of different states in Bali. The duties of Kṣatriyas consisted of protecting the people, distributing gifts, offering sacrifices, and studying religious scriptures.[39] All the royal families of Bali were Kṣatriyas by caste.[40] These were further sub-divided into numerous gotras and clans (Vaṅśa). The Kṣatriyas of Badung and Tabanan districts claim their descent from Ārya Damar (Ādityavarman) or Ārya Kénchéng[41] while those of Klungkung, Gianyar and Bangli have Brāhmaṇa Kapiksan or Dalém as their ancestor. The Kṣatriyas of Badung were further split into Kṣatriya-Pamechutan (Samaton-Pamechuttan), Kṣatriya-Denpasar (Samaton-Denpasar), and Kṣatriya-Jérokuṭa (Samaton-Jérokuṭa).

Despite the fact that theoretically the Brāhmaṇa had an edge over the Kṣatriyas according to the system of Varṇa, in practise, however, both, being the protectors of the people, enjoyed an equal status. The Brāhmaṇas protected the people with the help of their religious powers, while the Kṣatriyas did the same using their arms.[42] Maharṣi Viśvāmitra, in his discourse with king Daśaratha, speaks of the mutual inter-dependency of the two. According to him a Brāhmaṇa without a Kṣatriya is helpless and a king without a Brāhmaṇa is doomed to destruction.[43]

This idea is found in the Manusmṛti which says, "Kṣatriyas prosper not without Brāhmiṇs, and Brāhmiṇs prosper not without Kṣatriyas, Brāhmiṇs and Kṣatriyas being closely united prosper in this world and the next".[44]

Vaiśyas in Bali originally belonged to a great class of agriculturists and high officials in the kingdoms.[45] Actually most of them were former rulers, who were conquered by the Kṣatriyas of Majapahit. Their defeat degraded them to the status of Vaiśyas. On losing their royal authorities, many of them were thrown away to join the ranks of Vaiśyas and even Śūdras.[46] The Balinese Vaiśyas differ from their Indian counterparts in their origin. The latter belonged, mostly to the business or trading communities, whereas in Bali this function was performed by the Śūdras, as, the *Slokāntara* informs us.

Śūdras as members of the caste system discharged most important duties in the kingdom and the society. They belonged to the caste of the common people. Some of them might have come from the *Trivaṅśa* who were degraded to Sūdras, because they did not do their duties or due to their misbehaviour. The Mahābhārata speaks that "any one belonging to these higher castes becomes a Śūdra by deviating from the duties of his Caste".[47]

II. Inter-Caste Marriage

Inter-caste marriage is not unknown in Bali. Men can marry girls of lower birth (Skt: Anuloma-vivāha), but girls always marry men of equal or higher birth.[48] A girl married in a higher caste is considered as elevated to the caste of her husband, but she does not enjoy parity with her husband in every respect.[49]

Even in the Post-Vedic period there were cases of marriage between Āryans and Śūdras. The Āryans conquered native tribes and consequently the subjugated were thrown in the ranks of Śūdras. When both these communities started living together gradually inter-marriages started. Conversion from one caste to another became quite easy. The Ṛig Veda clearly narrated that "He is a poet (bard or Brāhmaṇa), his father a physician (visak), and his mother grinder of corn (apal preksini)".[50]

Marriage between Ārya-men and Śūdra-women became common during the Brāhmaṇic and Purāṇic period. The rigidity of the caste system in India was the offshoot of the Muslim period.[51] Most of the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas who came to Bali from Java married women of lower castes in the course of their close association with the local populace. The children belonged to the caste of their father. It did not create mixed castes. The man who married woman of a low caste is not considered to be degraded. It is true that the children born are thought to be inferior (Ulian-Panawing) to the children of his higher caste women (Ulian-Prami).[52] Even in India, according to Carnegy, the Rājputs (Kṣatriya) of Oudh used to accept women of lower rank without any fear of endangering their ancestral name.[53] Manu tells us that "from a Brāhmaṇa with the daughter a Vaisya is born (a son) called an Ambashta, with the daughter of Śūdra a Nishada. From a Kṣatriya and the daughter of Śūdra spring a being, called *Ugra*.[54] In Bali (before 1945) if a Kṣatriya married the daughter of a Śūdra, their son was called *Bakēkok*. On the contrary if a women of high caste married someone from the lower caste, it was not only disallowed, the punishment was very severe.[55] The married couple would be killed or thrown into the sea (Malébok) or expelled from Bali (Masēlong). This marriage is called Nyérod vaṅśa (Skt: Pratiloma vivāha). Thus, there did not exist any mixed castes in Bali.

III. Title in Bali

In the Post-Majapahit Bali there has been a general tendency not to use the Indian surnames in order to denote the difference of caste. A typical Balinese name in full comprises of the caste-term-sex, order number of birth, and personal name, and lastly the clan-term. The general practice is to use abbreviated forms of "caste" and order of birth while the name is written in full. For instance the Kṣatriyas of Badung bear names such as I. Gusti Ayu Putu Noviekayati Pamechutan. In this name *I. Gusti* stands for Kṣatriya caste, *Ayu* indicates female sex, *Putu* suggests the order of birth[56] and Noviekayati is the real name while Pamechuttan is the clan-name. There is no such indication for males or other castes, except Brāhmaṇas, where the Brāhmaṇ male uses the term *Bagus* denote the same after its caste term *Ida*.

All the four *castes* in Bali use a typical title (clan-term) and surname (Gotra) to denote their castes. Naturally different clan-term and surnames were used by the Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. *Ida* is a Brāhmaṇa title used for both Buddhist Mahāyanist and Śaivites. This title has been in use since tenth century A.D.[57] *Ida* means *Thou.*

I Gusti and *I Deva* are the original titles of Balinese Kṣatriyas. These titles have been used in Bali since the time of the mighty Majapahit kingdom. In the eighth and tenth century A.D., the title of *Gusti* was used by the Chiefs of different districts in Java. Later on in the post-Majapahit period this title was adopted by the royal families of Bali, Surakarta and Jogyakarta. In modern Java the Muslim use the title of *Gusti* before the name of the Almighty. "*Gusti*" means "Lord". In modern Bali, particularly in the districts of Badung and Tabanan, even if the members of royal families use this title, the common men always address them as *Anak Agung* meaning 'greatman'.

It seems that the title of "I Gusti" was mostly used for the royal families of Bali. With the advent of Dutch colonisers and their subsequent victory over Bali, these titles became handy with the Dutch and the latter used and distributed these titles in the light of their colonial interests. The rulers of Karangasem,[58] Jembrana and Buleleng were accordingly rewarded with the title of Anak Agung. The rulers of Mengwi, Tabanan and Badung, were addressed by the term of *Chokorda* (literally meaning "Your feet"). The members of the royal families of these States now use of the title of *I Gusti.*

I Deva was another title used for Kṣatriyas. This title was only used by the royal families of Klungkung. *Deva* means *Ruler* or "King". It was used by the royal families in Bengal, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Orissa in India. The royal families of Bangli and Gianyar were granted the title of *Anak Agung* instead of *I Deva* [59] by the Dutch colonists.

Gusti and *Deva* are also the titles of Vaiśyas in Bali.[60] It is given to them without prefix "I". They will never be called *Anak Agung* or *Deva Agung.* They are only the ordinary *Gusti* or *Deva.* Their descendents are mostly to be found in Klungkung, Karangasem, Bangli and Buleleng. According to Prof. R.C. Majumdar, there is also title Salit in Bali.[61] The title of *Salit* is mostly used in Badung district. Besides these there are the clan-prefix terms of 'Sang' and "Si" also.

The title of the fourth caste or Śūdra is *I* [62] for men and *Ni* for women. Lontar Usana Java states about the different classes or Vaṇśas such as Méṇḍēsa, Gaḍuh, Dangka, Kabāyān and Ngukuhin.[63] There are some others who call themselves as Sengguhu, Pānde, and Pasék. They consider themselves of higher origin and status than the common people. There is a story current in Bali that the Paseks and Pāndes are priest for which they continue their tradition of officiating as priests in some temples and in their family rituals. Not much of the Balinese population belongs to the Trivarṇa. Stutterheim writes, "the so-called trivaṇśa, the three castes of Hindus, constitute only about seven percent of the population".

RELIGIOUS FAITH

Religion was one of the most important factor in the spreading of Indian culture in Bali. The Hindu religion that flourished in Bali was not the Vedic one, but its Puranic or post-Vedic form. This religion was said to be introduced in Bali directly from India.[64] The chief feature of this religion was its sectarian character. Each sect had one chief God, such as Śiva, Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa and Buddha.

The sectarian features can be traced in detail in the religious history of Bali. There were mainly six sects such as Gaṇapatya, Śaura, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Śakti and the Buddhist. The Trimūrti concept in Hindu Brāhmaṇic faith represented Brāhmā as the creator, Viṣṇu as the protector, and Śiva as the destroyer.[65] Among all the Brāhmaṇcal and the Purāṇic sects which flourished in Bali, Śaivite faith was the most dominant. It wielded more influence on the whole course of religious development than any other sect. The Hināyana Buddhist (Therāvadā) doctrine was[66] gradually replaced by the Mahāyana Buddhist faith. There is no trace of any religious struggle in Bali. The Balinese kings assumed the role of the supreme guardian of all the religious sects. Brāhmaṇical religion and the Mahāyana Buddhist faith both attained privileged position among the kings as well as their subjects.

There is an opinion that the early Buddhist and Śaivite faith in Bali originated from South India.[67] But long before the time of Pallavas and Kaliṅgans, it is said, Indonesia had received the Buddhist doctrines by sea and land from North India.[68] Later on fresh currents of Buddhist faith from Amarāvatī, situated at the mouth of the Kṛṣṇa river in South India, is said to have, engulfed Indonesia. This place served as a key centre for overseas spread of the Buddhist faith during the second and third century A.D.[69]

I. Buddhism

As regards the influence of Buddhism, Chinese records tell us of the prevalence of the cult of Hīnayāna Buddhism of the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda school in Po'li (Bali). Even prior to the period described by the Chinese records, there are evidences which suggest that the Buddhist faith was a flourishing religion in Bali in the fifth century A.D.[70] This school retained the realistic conception of Buddhist doctrines.[71] I-tsing states in his records that in Indonesia there were a number of Buddhist followers. He writes that Mūla-Sarvāstivāda was one of the great sects of the Therāvadā Buddhist faith and there was also the Yogāchārabhūmiśāstra of Mahāyana Buddhist faith in Śrīvijaya (Sumatra). It was founded by Asaṅga. He was the founder of the Buddhist Tantric on mystic school of Yogāchāra and Vijñānavāda.[72]

From the eighth century onwards the Tantric Buddhist faith and Brāhmaṇical religion were well established all over the Indonesian archipelago. The old Balinese edicts speak of the Buddhist society and religion. The Blañjon-inscription mentions that the king sought the protection of the Buddha for the welfare of his country. It narrates as below: "Buddhasaranaḥ Kṛṭih Balidvīpa".[73] The Buddhist faith in this period had a strong hold on the people of Bali. Buddha was also known by various names such as Jina, Śākyamuni and Sogata (Skt: Saugata).

The inscription of Sukavana (Sukhavana) bears clear testimony that the Brāhmaṇic, as well as some of the native, rituals certainly occupied the most important place in the Hindu religion of the period. The names of Brāhmaṇa-priests were also given in this inscription such as Bhikṣu Śivakaṅsita and Bhiksu Śivaprajña. They were engaged to perform sacrificial rituals. During the period covered by this inscription, Śaivism became the State-religion.

The Bebetin and Trunyan inscriptions mention some of the Brāhmaṇical sacrifices such as the *Māghamahānavami Day.*[74] The Brāhmaṇa priests were supposed to look after the *Hyang-Api temple.*[75] It is not clear which sacrifices and ceremonies were associated with Māghamahānavami and Homa. The edict runs as below:

> "Mahantuanga paneken dihyang api kayadyan anada huma".[76]

The king provided patronage to Buddhism and the pre-Hindu religion also. He protected Buddhists and their privileges. Buddhist temples and monastries were erected and large chunks of land were granted to the Buddhist monks.[77] Votives carrying the Buddhist principle of *Ye dharmah hetu prabhāva* have been discovered. The Trunyan inscription referred that the Trunyan people (Bali-Aga) were allowed to worship their Gods *Bhaṭṭāra Datonta Hyang.*

Thus we see that during the rule of king Jayaśakti and king Ragajaya, Śaivism, Buddhism and pre-Hindu religions were existing side by side. The Laṇḍih inscription contains the invocation of Lord Śiva and Buddha, *Namo Śivāya* and *Namo Buddhāya.*[78] It is an important point to note that the preserved monuments and inscriptions give some information of religious life from the very beginning. These evidences show the existence of Hinayana Buddhism, Mahāyana Buddhism, Śaivism, pre-Hindu religion, Vaiṣṇavism and Śiva-Buddha religions.

Mahāyana Buddhism was linked with the tantric Vajrayāna. This form of religion had already spread in West Indonesia in the ninth century A.D. Afterwards it was codified in Kavi language and came to be known as *Sang Hyang Kamahāyanikan.* The huge Buddhist monument of Boroboddur was erected by the Śailendra dynasty. This temple is a living testament of the glorious past of Mahāyana Buddhism in Indonesia.

II. Śaivism

As a counter art of the Buddhist religion, Śaivism was the most powerful Brāhmaṇical religion in the Eastern part of the Indonesian archipelago. The great Śiva temple of Prambanan was erected by a Hindu king of Sañjaya dynasty. This temple was dedicated to Lord Śiva featuring him as Mahādeva. This period marked the revival of Brāhmaṇical religion in Indonesia.

In Bali Lord Śiva was represented both as a human figure as well as in his liṅga form[79], the latter being more popular. God Śiva is known variously as Mahādeva, Mahāguru, Mahākāla, Nīlakaṇṭha, Agastya and Jagannata.[80] Śiva is regarded as a God who expelled darkness and took people to enlightenment. Śiva is the most popular God in Bali. The worship of Agastya has been very clearly mentioned in various edicts. From one such edict issued by king Marakata we learn that Mahārṣi Agastya was called, *Aṅgasti.* According to Dr. F.D.K. Bosch, Agastya was supposed to play the role of an intermediary between the deity and the royal priest.[81] Later on the two came to be united. This cult became quite popular in the royal court and also among the people. Śiva was also know as Bhaṭṭāra Guru.[82]

The earliest reference available regarding the Agastya-cult in Indonesia is to be found in an inscription dated 670 A.D. which was discovered in Java. It is believed that sometime later in life Agastya had settled in Java and preached Hinduism. His journey to Indonesia is well-known as *Agastya-yātrā*. This sage preached Śaivism. After the decline of Hindu Matarām kingdom in Central Java, the cult of Agastya moved to East Java and Bali. The Dinoyo-inscription of East Java dated 760 A.D. mentions about the cult of Agastya. This seems to have transformed into or merged in the cult of "Devarāja" (Bal: Rājadevatā) which was practised by the royal families in the early ninth century A.D.

Besides the main stream of Śaivism there were various other trends common in Bali which for the sake of convenience, can be categorised as sub-sects. References regarding these offshoots of Śaivism are to be found in Lontar Bhuvanakośa and Bhuvanasaṅkṣepa (Kavi) of the Śivasiddhānta school.[83] The colophon of the Kṛṣṇayāṇa informs us about the existence of this school in Bali as late as the fourteenth century. From the Lontar Bukbukṣah and the Chalon Arang it can be gathered that hard core followers of such sub-sects insisted on the use of the human skull as their vessel, somewhat akin to the Śaiva Pāsupata sect of India. It was quite common for such extremists to smear there body either with ashes or blood obtained from dead bodies.

III. Śaktism and Tantrism

From the tenth century A.D. Tantrism and Śaktism gradually emerged into prominence. These cults seem to have been prevalent in Bali. The Javanese queen Guṇapryādhamapatni, who was the wife of king Udayana of Bali,[84] was a follower of the Śakta cult. As a result of her influence Śaktism spread fast in Bali.[85] A figure carved in the image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī, a form of Durgā, has been found at Kutri in Gianyar district. There is a very close affinity between Śaktism and Śaivism. The Goddess Śakti is regarded as the consort, of Śiva. Both Śaktism and Śaivism recognize the reality of Śiva-Śakti. The difference consisted in the dominance of one over the other. In the fourteenth century A.D. a new wave of Tantrism came from Java to Bali. The emergence of Tantric Buddhism can be traced back to the development of Śaivism in Eastern India and seen as a consequence of the latter phenomenon. However, it is much more probable that the first waves of Tantrism and Mahāyana Buddhism reached Java from Magadha and Bengal via Nepal, Tibet and Indo-China by the land route. There was a sea-route also which connected Java through Kalinga or Utkala with Magadha and Bengal.[86]

The kingdom of Singhasarī was an important strong-hold of Tantrism and Mahāyana Buddhism in Java during this period. We know that Bali was a dominion of this kingdom. King Kṛtanagara of Singhasarī was a devout follower of Tantrism of the Buddhist Vajrayana school. Most probably this cult was brought to Bali by her governor and other high ranking officials. A good number of Tantric priests of Singhasarī also came to Bali. Once in Bali, it transformed into a new cult known as the Bhairava cult. Now Śiva was worshipped in the form of Bhairava with terrible demonic look.[87] A large statue of Bhairava has been discovered in Gianyar district. The statue bears close resemblence with other artifacts of the Singhasarī period. It is an unmistakable proof that the Tantric doctrine was flourishing in Bali. Another cult which emerged in Bali was that of Bhīma (Śiva). Its prevelence is suggested by the presence of a huge image of Bhīma, the brother of Yudhiṣṭhira of the Mahābhārata, in the old temple of Maspahit in Denpasar in Badung district. According to Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, "the Bhīma cult is noteworthy for the features it derives from a confusion between Bhīma as a name of Śiva and Bhīma, the second of the five Pāṇḍava brothers, heroes of Mahābhārata".[88]

IV. Śaura and Gaṇapatya Cults

The Śaura-cult and Gaṇapatya-cult were also prevalent in Bali.[89] In the former the worship of God Āditya or Sūrya (Sun-god) plays a prominent role. It is performed in the morning and is called *Sūrya-sevana.* This cult made Sūrya to be the highest among the Gods. The images of the Sun-god have been found in Basakih temple. There is a shrine called *Padmāsana* dedicated to God Āditya. For some time Śiva and Āditya were considered as the highest Gods. Gradually the two united in one, and the new deity was called Lord Śivāditya or Śivarāditya. The Gāṇapatya cult recognises Gaṇeśa as the supreme God. In the Hindu mythology Gaṇeśa is portrayed as the son of Lord Śiva and the brother of Kārtikeya. Gaṇeśa is also known as Vigneśvara and Gaṇapati. Numerous images of Gaṇésa have been found in Bali.[90] This cult seems to have been much more popular. The people believed that God Gaṇeśa was the proper deity who could deliver peace, prosperity and victory to them.

V. Vaiṣṇavism

Another sect to rise to prominence with the passage of time was Vaiṣṇavism. It too enjoyed the royal favour with Śaivism and Mahāyana Buddhism. The available evidences tend to show that during the twelfth century A.D. Vaisṇavism was becoming popular in Bali. In this cult Viṣṇu was regarded as the highest God. Numerous references to this God connected with the cult have been found in Bali. On the contrary, the cults of Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Hanūmān are altogether absent. There is no evidence to prove the worship of Rāma or Kṛṣṇa even in the modern times. One of the edicts issued by king Agninṛpati refers to the *Garuḍadhvaja*, the flag of Lord Viṣṇu.[91] King Jayaśakti has been described as God Viṣṇu (Sākṣāt nira Viṣṇumurti) in the Bebandem-inscription. In another inscription he has been called "Viṣṇusakala" (Lord Viṣṇu himself). King Anak Wungsu has been compared with the God Hari. The inscription states that he was *Sākṣāt niran Harimurti.*[92] King Vālaprabhu was also the follower of Vaiṣṇavism. His inscription states as below:

> "Tekyaen pwa paḍuka Śrī Mahārāja Viṣṇumurti sākṣat Jagat pālaka'[93]

Most probably Vaiṣṇavism came from Java to Bali in the Kaḍiri period in twelfth century A.D., particularly during the reign of king Airlangga, who was the son of Guṇapriyādharṃapatni, the queen of Bali.

VI. Śiva-Buddha Cult

The mixing up of Śaivism and Mahāyana Buddhism constitutes an important phase in the development of religious life in Bali in the fourteenth century A.D. Śaivism and Buddhism (Mahāyana) hitherto two different religious faiths underwent close proximity during the rule of Singhasarī dynasty. The process took place in Java. Gradually the two merged into one as the Śiva-Buddha cult. This newly formed cult travelled to Bali in the post-Majapahit period. So far as the relationship between Śaivism and Śaktism is concerned it is clearly to be understood that these are not regarded as different cults, rather they are related as two branches of Purānic or Brāhmaṇical religion. The Buddhist and the Śaivite cult were similarly combined somewhat akin to the growth of the Natha cult and of the Buddhist Vajrayana sect in India.

As has already been described Śaivism and Buddhism merged in the unified body of Śiva-Buddha cult. In Bali, Mahāyana Buddhism, Tantrism and Śaivism became more and more fused. The process of synthesis later on resulted in the use of Buddha as one member of the Trimūrti of Brāhmaṇical religion, in distinction to the synthesis of the Buddhist faith with the Vaishnavite faith in India where Buddha came to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu as is depicted in a panel in the Sri Jagannath temple of Puri, Orissa, and sung in the Gītāgovinda of Jayadev.

The Lontar Sang Hyang Kamahāyanikan is an exposition on the holy system of the Mahāyana Buddhism. It is regarded as a Hinduized version of original Buddhism. It expounds a treatise on theology according to the Yogāchāra-system.[94] It mentions Buddha as one with Śiva. As far as the fusion of Śiva and Buddha is concerned the Lontar Sutasoma (Kavi) explicitly states that it is the two spiritual elements which are separated but the essence of Śiva and Buddha is one. It should be understood as unity in diversity. There is no *Dharma* leading to different goal. It narrates as below:

> "Hyaṅ Buddha tanpahi Śiva raja deva
> Rwanekadatu winuwus, vara-Buddha viśvā
> bhinneki rakwa riṅapan kena parvanosan
> maṅka Jinatva lawan Śiva tattva tuṅgal
> Bhineka tuṅgal ika, tan hana Dharma manrwa".

The Lontar Kuñjarakarṇa (Kavi text) contains Buddhist teachings.[95] It mentions that Vairochana identified himself with Śiva and Buddha. Even the Lontar Tutur Padma Bhuvana provides us with a similar account. It is said that "Bhaṭṭāra Śiva miwah Buddha meraga tuṅgal".[96] The Nagarakṛtāgama, a later text, informs us that the kings of Singhasarī worshipped Śiva-Buddha. The Lontar Bukbukṣah cites Lord Buddha as the youngest brother of Lord Śiva. The Buddha Stuti (Mantras) has been used in Bali. It seems that the fusion of the two cults deeply influenced each other. These instances reveal the state of perfect harmony which existed among the followers of Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist faiths.

II. Śiva

According to the Vṛshaspati-Tattva (Kavi) Śiva is the creator, destroyer, and bestower of favour to all.[108] He is the highest among the highest. His abode is on the heavenly mount Mahāmeru. He is called Mahādeva, the great God. The big "Ulun-Kukul" temple of Bali is dedicated to Lord Śiva as Mahādeva.[109] Mahādeva is also recognized as the God of wealth and gold. According to the Lontar Tantu Panggelaran (Kavi), he is the God of goldsmiths. He is also the Teacher (Guru) of all human beings as well as the Gods. That is why He is called Bhaṭṭāra Guru or Mahāguru. Every six months there is a festival for Him. It is called *Pāgér-Wési-Day* (literally meaning Iron-Fort day), but suggesting worship of Durga, protector of the fort. Śiva is also supposed to be the Chief of the Bhūtas and Piśāchas. His weapons and emblems are Triśūla, Rosary and Chāmara.

There is a story in the Lontar Lubdaka about Śiva-rātrī-day, a festival associated with the Śaiva cult in Bali. Śiva as invoked in the "mantras" has four hands, three eyes, and bears the sacred thread of serpent around his neck. Śiva is painted with four arms, while other Gods have only two arms. In the group of Trimūrti, Śiva is represented in white colour. The great Basakih temple is dedicated to Lord Śiva. Temples of Lord Śiva are found in almost every village throughout Bali.

Śiva is worshipped in Bali in different forms. Bhaṭṭāra Yogīśvara is the another name for Lord Śiva. He is divine and Mahāyogī. Rudra is one of the numerous names accorded to him, which indicates his destructive aspect. There are eleven Rudras (Ekādaśarudra) and together they protect the eight directions and the zenith, the nadir and the centre of the universe. The occasion for the worship of these eleven Rudras comes once after every hundred years. This festival is called "Karya Tawur Agung Ekādaśarūdra" or the Great Ceremonial Offering to the Eleven Rūdras.[110] The Basakih temple in Karangasem district is the traditional venue for the celebration of this festival.

Mahākāla and Īśvara are two other important names used for Śiva. Īśvara is the God of Arts and Music. He is white in colour.[111] According to the Mahābhārata, He is a white one, because he wears a shining white garment and his garland, his bull, his sacred thread and his banner are all white.[112] Pura Gélāp temple is dedicated to God Īśvara. He is worshipped on "Tumpék-Ringgit-Day" every six months. Yama, too, has been recognised as one the manifestations of Lord Śiva. He is the God of death, justice and mercy. He holds court and presides as the Supreme Judge. He rules over the hell, where the wickeds are made to undergo punishment for their evil deeds. So, the Balinese worship him at the time of funeral rites and Pitrayajña to seek forgiveness from Him. He is also known as Dharmarāja, as in India, the king of righteousness.[113] His other name is Yamarāja because he is a great ruler. Even God Prajāpati is recognised as the manifestation of Lord Śiva. The Balinese worship him after they have performed the funeral rites. His temple is called Prajāpati temple or Mṛajāpati (Mahārājapati) temple, and it is usually found in every village near the cremation ground.

Śiva finds another manifestation in the form of Paśupati. He is the God who rules over animals. He is worshipped in the festivals of Tumpékāṇḍang-day and Tumpéklaṇdép-day. Both these festivals are celebrated twice in a year. The Tumpékuḍuh or Tumpékpéngārāh-day is the festival for the worship of God Śaṅkara, yet another aspect of Śiva, who is the God of all plants. He rules all over the whole of vegetative life. The Balinese also call Lord Śiva as Bhaṭṭāra Jagannatha (Lord of the Universe) and Bhaṭṭāra Parameśvara (Lord of Lords).[114]

According to the tradition Śiva married Giriputrī. It is believed that mount Sumeru is the place where Lord Śiva always sits with his consort Giriputrī or Umā. Giriputrī or Umā is more commonly known as Pārvatī. Pura Maṇik-Mās temple near Mt. Agung is dedicated to Her.[115] Gaṅgā is another name of the Goddess Umā as distinct from the Indian tradition. She is worshipped as the Goddess of sacred rivers. She has a tremendous purifying power. She assumed the shape of Mahiṣāsuramardinī to kill the demon Mahiṣāsura. Durgā is the another name of this Goddess. She is frequently represented in her terrific aspect manifesting the destructive forces. She is the formidable Goddess of death. When she laughs her dreadful teeth are revealed with her tongue hanging out. She is believed to be the queen of Bhūtas and Lēak (Art of Black-magic).[116] Pura Dalém temple is generally built close to the cremation place or the village cemetery. This is the temple reserved specially for the worship of Durgā. She is worshipped every fortnight.

The offerings made to Durgā are called *Pasāgéhan* and *Pānyāmblēhān* (Pañchamakara Pūjā). It has five important constituents, namely-wine (madirā), ginger (māṅsa), onion (matsya), rice (mudra) and "porosan" or betel leaves (maithuna). The Balinese also perform another ritual in which they sacrifice animals such as chicken, pig, dog, goat and buffalo. Here, the Goddess is known as Kālī. She is more popular among the Balinese as Bhaṭṭārī Rātu Rangda (the widow) and Bhaṭṭārī Rātu Ayu (the virgin). In the district of Karangasem there is a huge temple, Pura Tegeṅkori, dedicated to her.

III. Brahmā

Brahmā is one of the three members of Trimūrti. According to the Lontar Tantu Panggelaran, humanity was created by God Brahmā.[117] Not only this, he is credited with the creation of the entire universe. There is a belief in Bali that he is the first teacher of the iron-smiths. For a large number of people in Bali regard and worship him as the God of Fire. Usually Brahmā is represented as a red coloured deity[118] with four heads and four arms. It is from his mouth that the four Vedas were produced. In his hands he carries the rosary and the lotus.

Almost every village in Bali has a temple called Pura Deśa dedicated to Brahmā. A huge temple was built in Karangasem where he is worshipped. The temple is called Kiḍul Krétég, also at the foot of Mt. Agung.

Brahma's

Sarasvatī the Goddess of learning and wisdom is taken as his consort. She is usually depicted possessing four hands. She holds palm leaves, lotus and akṣamala. Sarasvatī is regularly worshipped by the students and learned people. If there is no idol of Sarasvatī available (as common in Orissa and Kerala) even books can be worshipped as a substitute. The books are supposed to be so sacred that on the Sarasvatī Day no Balinese dare touch or read a book. According to the Chantaka Parva, Sarasvatī is known as, Bagī, Vidyanā, Baradī, Yani, Śāstravid, Sudevī, Dhārī, Sumarī, Gaṅgādhārī, Prajñadharī, Kastavit, Darjinandharī, Nīlasikhī and Śāstradanā.[119]

IV. Viṣṇu

Viṣṇu is the third member of the Trimūrti. Initially both Viṣṇu and Brahmā were considered inferior to Lord Śiva. The Lontar Rāmāyaṇa (Kavi) calls him as the Father of the world (Trivikramapitā).[120] He is the God who teaches human beings about languages, Daśākṣara and Pañchākṣara mantras according to the Lontar Tantu Panggelaran. Viṣṇu is always represented as of black or blue colour. He holds Chakra and Lotus. In Bali Viṣṇu is believed to represent water and is worshipped as the God of water also.[121] He is also known as Nārāyaṇa and Hari. The other names of God Viṣṇu are mentioned in the Lontar Chantaka Parva[122] and these are almost similar to the list of twenty four names mentioned in Pātāla Khaṇḍa, of the Padma Purāṇa,[123] namely Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, Śourī, Chakrapāṇi, Janārdanaḥ, Padmanāba or Padmanābha, Reṣikeśah or Hṛsīkeśva, Hupendrah or Upendra, Govinda or Gohvinda, Garuḍadhvaja, Keśavāh or Keśava, Puṇḍarīkākṣaḥ Kṛṣṇah, Pītāmbarāchyutaḥ, Viṣvakṣenaḥ, Svabhū, Sangkhi, Danavara, Hanokṣajah (perhaps Adhokṣaja), Vresah, Kapi, Bāsudevan or Vāsudeva, Mādava or Mādhava and Madusūdana or Madhusūdana.

One can find Viṣṇu temples all over Bali. These are called Pura Puséh which can be seen in almost every village. Besides these temples, there is another temple in Batumādég where people from every corner of Bali used to come to worship Viṣṇu. Śrī is Viṣṇu's consort. She is recognised as the Goddess of agriculture, fertility and rice. She is worshipped once a month, and the day is usually Friday, when the common folk worship her in their rice fields. She is commonly known as Bhaṭṭārī Śrī, and as Deva Nīnī. Her temples are variously known as Pura Bédugul, Pura Uluñcharik and Puru Subak. These are usually to be found in the middle of the green expanse of rice-fields. Lakṣmī. Rambut Sādhana and Śrīsādhana are some of the other names for Śrī Lakṣmī .Rambut Sādhana is also the Goddess of wealth.[124] The image of Lakṣmī is made with copper coins, particularly from the ancient Chinese copper coins. The image of Śrī is also made with paddy.

According to the Lontar Tantu Panggelaran Śrī is the first Goddess who taught the human beings to weave the cloth. She is invoked in mantras as the Goddess having four hands and four colours. There is a big temple Banua Kawan, in Karangasem district dedicated to Goddess Laksmī. Local temples are usually to be found in every market and these are called Pura Malanting. It is inside Banua Kawan temple that the festival is celebrated every six months on Śukra Manis Kaliwon. The most famous temple in Bali dedicated to Goddess Śrī is called Pura Banua kangin, near the Pura Básakih temple.

Garuḍa is recognised, as in India, as the carrier of Lord Viṣṇu. The Lontar Ādiparva (Kavi) mentions Garuḍa as the son of Vinatā and Kaśyapa and as the enemy of Nāgas. He is represented as half man and half eagle with strong wings. Garuḍa bore off the "Amṛta" which enabled him to liberate his mother from slavery. Vainateya is the other name of Garuḍa.[125]

VI. Gaṇeśa

Gaṇeśa is one of those few Gods who is worshipped by the majority of Balinese on almost every important occasion. He is closely connected with God Śiva and Śakti. In fact he is the son of Lord Śiva and Umā. He is credited with paving the way for success in one's life. Every Balinese offers him his humble prayers before undertaking any ceremony. All the ceremonies are usually preceded by Bhūtayajñas in which Gaṇeśa is worshipped. He is also considered as the God of knowledge.

Whenever the people are afflicted with serious epidemics, the Balinese start praying to Lord Gaṇapati and hoist the Gaṇadhvaja (Banner of Gaṇapati) so that on being pleased he might eradicate the epedemic.[126] There are numerous names for this deity, namely Gaṇapati and Vighneśvara. Generally the Balinese call him Bhaṭṭāra Gaṇa.[127] Kārtikeya is his brother. According to Prof. Upendra Thakur, "In Indonesia the cult of Kārtikeya had become quite popular as is evident from inscriptions and literatures".[128] The other name of Kārtikeya is Skandha and Kumāra. But Balinese call him Bhaṭṭāra Kumāra. He is the God who always remains a child, according to Balinese. So, he is recognized as the protector of babies.

VII. Āditya

Āditya is known by his various names such as Bháskara, Arka and Sūrya. The Balinese regard Āditya as the eyes of the three worlds which see everything.[129] According to tradition Lord Śiva is the Guru of all the Gods, and Āditya is one of his disciples. It is said that Āditya was so clever and intelligent, that Lord Śiva considered him as his equal. Consequently it came to be believed that he who worships Āditya also worships Śiva. That is why Lord Śiva is also known as Śivāditya or Śivarāditya.

This unification of God Āditya and Lord Śiva raised the former to the rank of the Supreme deity in Bali.[130] Even the Mahābhārata recognizes Āditya as the "Supreme Sovereign". In Bali, his worship is called "Sūrya-sevana".[131] Almost every Balinese house has its own shrine of God Āditya called "palinggih-Padmāsana" and "Sanggah-Sūrya". Āditya has become more popular under the name of "Bhaṭṭāra Sūrya". According to the Lontar Ādiparva, he was the son of Aditi[132] from whom he derived his name.

VIII. Minor Gods and Goddesses

According to the Ādiparva, Agni is the sacred deity who perceives every action, good or bad.[133] He is considered as a mediator between men and Gods. But independent worship of the

Fire God, Agni, in the Vedic manner was also in vogue. Some of the inscriptions instruct that Homa should be offered to Hyang Agni at His temple (Agniśālā).[134] In Bali, Agni is another name of God Brahmā. He is worshipped mostly inside the kitchens on the occasion of the ceremonies of *Māpinton* and *Māsākāpān-Kā-Pawon.*

Varuṇa is the God of Ocean. In the Mahābhārata he appears as the God of water and the Sea. The Balinese call him Bhaṭṭāra Sāgara and Bhaṭṭāra Baruṇa. He is worshipped and invoked mostly for purification. He is also worshipped in connection with death. The criminals worship Varuṇa on the beach near the Sāgara temple after getting released from the prison. There are Sāgara temples everywhere along the beaches of Bali.

Varuṇa is believed to be the witness of human truthfulness and falsehood. He is the guardian of law and morality. The common folk dread his terrible punishment. But he is merciful too. So those persons who feel having done some sinful work worship him. The Manuṣmṛti[135] speaks that Varuṇa is the king whose duty is to punish and to give freedom to the sinner who repents. His image is "Archa Pāchānāngān-Gajaḥmīna (Makara). Varuṇa temple is called "Pura Sāgara". The Balinese offer him a black pig for sacrifice, because he is also regarded as the symbol of darkness.

Viśvakarmā is also an important God of Bali. He is the architect and presiding deity of all craftsmen, according to the Tantu Panggelaran. Whenever any construction works reaches completion (Skt: Gṛhapravesha), Viśvakarmā is worshipped. There is no image or shrine set up for him. The Balinese worship him, as in India, in the form of various tools used for construction works.

Indra is the king of Gods. He is recognized as the God of rain. He is generally worshipped by the people of Trunyan.[136] Kāma is the God of "Love". He is represented as a handsome figure of youth. His consort is Rati. According to the Lontar Smaradāhana (Kavi), it was Kāma who was responsible for bringing about the union of Lord Śiva and Umā Later on when Lord Śiva came to know of his hand, his third eye reduced Kāma to ashes. Afterwards he was restored to life. He is believed to reside in the hearts of the youth.[137]

Kāma and Rati are worshipped at the time of Rajasvala, tooth-filling and marriage ceremonies. The shrine of Kāma and Rati is made with sugarcane and white and yellow flowers. It is called "Balai-Gaḍing" (Yellow court). There are no images inside this shrine. God Kāma is generally called "Sang Hyang Smara". In the mantras, Kāma and Rati are invoked by the name of Kāmajaya and Kāmaratih or Hyang Asmara and Hyang Asmari.[138]

Some of the other minor deities which figure in Indian mythology have also been found in Bali. They are well-known in Balinese literature. Special mention can be made of Gandharvas and Vidyādharas. The Nāgas, Yakṣas and Bhūtas are also worshipped. They were fairly common among the villagers. Bāsuki and Ananta, too, were well-known in Bali. According to the Ādiparva, Bāsuki and Ananta were the sons of Kadrū. There is a temple for worshipping Bāsuki in Bali. Pura Bāsukihan and Pura Guhā temples have been built to worship Bāsuki and Ananta,[139] at the feet of Mt. Agung, the holy mount of temples.

Besides the above mentioned Gods and Goddesses, Balinese have their own local deities (Skt: Grāmadevata). Mention can be made of Jéro-Nyomān, Jéro-Gédē-Machaling, Jéro-Luh, Ratu-Śakti-Panchāring-Jagat and Rātu-Ayu-Pingit-Dalém-Pāsār.[140] "Malēn" or Tualēn is recognized as an equal of Lord Śiva. So, he is called "Sang Hyang Tunggal or Sang Hyang Titah".

Prof. H.B. Sarkar very correctly says, "Indeed, all known Gods of any importance in the Hindu and Buddhist pantheon of India had their heyday in Bali".

DAILY WORSHIP OF BALINESE TWICE-BORN

Unlike India where the temple functions of day-to-day religious ceremonies are discharged by Brāhmaṇas, also known as Pūjāris, the Balinese follow a different practice.

In Bali the Brāhmaṇa High-Priests (Paṇḍita) never perform the duty of day-to-day worship in public temples. Every person who has undergone "Mawintén Ceremony" (Upanayana) is qualified to carry out this duty irrespective of the caste or sex to which he belongs. Such persons are called *Vālakas* (Bālaka). But it is not necessary for every Vālaka (twice born) to be appointed as the temple priest called Pamangku, whereas every Pamangku has to be a Vālaka. Even women can be entrusted with this duty. It is not necessary that a Vālaka need be a boy or youth; the term only signifies him to be the junior most officiator in the worship.

The Pamangkus are simply curators and attendents of the temple. Generally they are not much educated and sometimes quite a number of them know only the legends. Their duties consists of cleaning the temple precincts, making offerings to the Gods and supervision of the temple feasts. He receives offerings from devotees who visit the temple, and distributes holy water.[141] The male Pamangku keeps short hair while the High priest (Paṇḍita) keeps long hair tied in a knot over his head. Sometimes these Pamangkus live close to the temples.

The High-Priests are called by different titles depending upon the caste to which they belong. Thus the Brāhmaṇa High-Priest is called Padaṇḍa, while the Kṣatriya High-Priest is addressed as Bhagavān. Ṛṣi Bhujaṅga and Śrī Mpu are two other titles. These High-Priests very seldom visit the temple, and that too on the occasion of some highly important festivals or ceremonies. They are not supposed to participate in worldly activities. Among the Balinese Hindus the High Priests enjoy highly privileged status.

The High-Priests preside at every important religious ceremony, such as special festive worship of Gods (Devayajña), wedding ceremony (Manuṣayajña), cremation (Pitriyajña), and warding off evils (Bhutayajña) for their own caste, except the Padaṇḍa who can perform it for any caste. But the Pamangkus are forbidden to perform these special kinds of ceremonies. The High-Priests, too, do daily worship, but inside their family temples (Skt: Istadevatā). This worship is called the *Sūrya-Sevana* and the deities are Lord Śiva and Āditya.

The Vālakas are allowed to perform the daily-worship which is called *Pūjāvṛttivālaka*. People who have not undergone Mawintén-ceremony are forbidden to perform the Pūjā

Vṛttivālaka. By this ceremony the Vālakas become fully qualified to perform the ritual worship and meditative concentration. By Prāṇayāma, Yoga and Mudrās, the Vālakas, Pamangkus and High Priests secure a higher state of mind. They recite Sanskrit mantras which are taken from the Vedas, Upanisads and the Purāṇas. The Vedas as preserved in Bali are called Ṛig-Veda, Yajur-Veda and Sāmavedaśiras.[142] Sylvain Levi pointed out that the text called Chatur Veda in Bali is in reality almost indentical with the Nārāyaṇātharvaśirsopaniṣad. While according to Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, "the so-called Vedas of Bali are compilations of secret tantric mantras, and that the only part of the real Veda known seems to be a corruption of the Gāyatrī-mantra".[143]

The various kinds of mudras or postures which indicate the different desires and wishes of the mind are still used in Bali. The Lontar Veda-Parikramā mentions various kinds of Mudrās, Prāṇayama, Nyāsa and Kumbhaka. Mudrās form an important part in the rituals performed by the Balinese High Priests, where in India these have almost been lost and forgotten.[144] But Mudrās and Ghanṭa are not commonly used in the ordinary daily worship performed by the Vālakas.

The High Priests, Pamangkus and Vālakas use Āgamas, which provide them the technique of worshipping. The purpose of Āgamas is to lift the devotees to a higher level of religious thinking. The techniques of Śiva-worship (Tantras) in Bali involves several phases ranging from gross physical form to subtle mental modes. This is a highly complicated process of ritual worship and the one performed by the High Priests is even more complex. C. Hooykaas says, "Investigation into the daily ritual of the Balinese Śaiva Brāhman Priests has revealed that it still shows clearly its close link with South Indian daily ritual. Though the Buddhist daily ritual displays some elements known from elsewhere in the world of Buddhism, as a whole it has not yet been found in other parts of the world.[145]

From the Lontar Pūjāvṛttivālaka[146] we learn about the method of the daily-worship of the twice-born or the Vālakas. The process of ritual worship follows a carefully composed procedure which consists of four distinctive elements, preparatory acts, meditation, worship proper, and conclusion, in that order.

I. Preparatory Acts

The important articles required for their daily worship are Śīvambha (copper tumbler filled holy water-pot), fragrant flowers, Dīpa (oil lamp), Dhūpa (incense), and some grains of rice (asaṭhā). Before the Vālaka starts performing the daily worship he is expected to have attained a high level of trans-meditation wherein each and every part of his body becomes the abode of the God. The physical body also known as Bhuvana-ālit (small world) is a temple. It should be consecreated before the body becomes sacred place of worship. So, according to the Lontar Pūjāvṛttivālaka before the Gods are invoked to enter the body, it should be completely purified.

The process starts with the Vālaka taking his bath. After that he clads himself in white clothes and then starts to wash his feet. He sits facing either East or Noth, but never South or West. The Vālaka sits firmly in Padmāsana. Then he starts to perform "Kara-Śuddha-mam". Afterwards he washes his hand, meanwhile reciting the following mantra:

Oṁ Aṁ Raḥ Phaṭ astrāya namaḥ

This mantra is called "Astra-mantra". It is very important for protection from evil (Bhūtas) influences.

Next the Válaka performs "Mākurāh" or the rinsing of mouth for purification of the inner parts of his body chanting the following:

Oṁ Rah Uṁ Phaṭ

This mantra is also considered to be important for the removal of obstacles.

Now he takes some flowers for cleansing the hands, and recites the following mantra:

Oṁ Śiva śuddha mam svāhā

He puts some flowers in the palm of the right hand and covers it with the left hand and recites the mantra:

Oṁ ati śuddha mam svāhā.

Again he puts flowers in the left hand and closes it by the right hand, and utters:

Oṁ Oṁ śuddha mam svāhā.

After cleansing the right hand fingers he recites the following:

Oṁ Oṁ savasti śuddha mam svāhā.

Cleansing the left hand's fingers, he utters:

Oṁ Choṁ chaṇḍi mala hilang.

Then throwing flowers towards North and South-West, he recites:

Oṁ Aṁ Brahmāmṛta dīpāya namaḥ
Oṁ dhūpa astrāya namaḥ svāhā.

He covers the piece of burning incense with his hands and recites:

Oṁ Maṁ Īśvarāya namaḥ

II. Meditation

After performing the above mentioned rituals, the Vālaka should perform meditation in order to purify all the internal parts of his body. For this he should perform *Prāṇayāma* (regulation of breath). During meditation, the Vālaka must always concentrate at the tip of his nose. This is done in order to achieve mental stability and concentration. The Vālaka meditates in such a way that he is united with the God. Then he clasps the hands together in the prayer posture and makes mudrās (amuṣṭi) reciting the following sacred sylables:

"Sa Ba Ta Ā Ī, Namah Śivāya Aṁ Uṁ Maṁ"[147]

Then he chants:

"Oṁ Uṁ Rah Phaṭ astrāya namaḥ
Oṁ Uṁ ātmātatvātmā śuddha mam svāā
Oṁ kṣama sampūrṇāya namaḥ svāhā[148]
Oṁ Śrī Paśupataye Uṁ Phaṭ".

III. Proper Worship

Pūjā is performed by using fragrant flower's, incense and a handful of rice. Thereafter he recites:

"Oṁ Ghriṁ vosat kṣama karaṇaya namaḥ".

Meanwhile the Vālaka should try to imagine the God entering his body, as he utters:

"Ī Ba Sa Ta Ā, Ya Na Ma Śi Va, Maṁ Uṁ Aṁ.

By now the Vālaka should successfully visualise in his mind the image of the God. The God will enter his body through the "Śivadvāra" (Forehed). Here it is very important for the Vālaka to visualise the presence of the God at the appropriate place fixed for him inside his body.

He recites:

"Oṁ Oṁ Anantāsanāya namaḥ
Oṁ Oaṁ Padmāsanāya namaḥ".

The Vālaka thus opens his hands perpendicular to his breast, uttering;

"Oṁ Oṁ Padmahṛdaya namaḥ".[149]

Thereafter the Vālaka welcomes the God in his heart, and recites the "Devapratiṣṭha" mantra as below:

"Oṁ Oṁ Devapratiṣṭhāya namaḥ svāhā.

Once again he concentrates and recites the "Kuṭa-mantra"[150] which is a very sacred mantra. It is the most important mantra used while worshipping the Lord, as:

"Oṁ Hraṁ Hrīṁ Saḥ Paramaśivādityāya namaḥ svāhā".

Then the Vālaka, with folded hands bows to the Lord Śivāditya and recites:

"Oṁ Sa Ba Ta Ā Ī, Namah Śivāya, Aṁ Uṁ Maṁ Oṁ.

Immediately after he bows once again to the Lord and imagines Him and all the Gurus (preceptor)) seated in his heart. He prays:

"Maṁ Uṁ Aṁ Śrī Gurubhyo namaḥ
Aṁ Uṁ Maṁ Oṁ Namaḥ Devāya
Śivāya, Rudrāya, Śaṅkarāya
Īśanādipitāya namaḥ
Oṁ namo devādhiṣṭhāya
sarva vyāpi Śivāya
Padmāsana ekapratisthāya
Ardhanareśvarāyanamo namaste
Oṁ Hraṁ Hrīṁ Saḥ Paramaśiva dampatayae namaḥ svāha".

IV. Preparation of the Holy Water

In order to prepare the holy water (Tīrtha Pāvitra), the Vālaka first recalls the Goddess Gaṅgā Gaurī. Thereafter with sacred "Kuśa" grass (Wél-mingmang) in his hand he draws some mystical sign over the water. Reciting the following mantra he tries to wake up the Goddess Gaṅgā-Gaurī:

"Oṁ Hraṁ Hrīṁ Saḥ Vosaṭ
Paramaśivāmṛtāya namaḥ svāhā".

He dips the "Wel-mingmang" into the holy water and continues the "Utpatti-mantra". In the state of sthiti, he utters the following:

"Oṁ Gaṅgādevī mahā pūṇye[151]
Gaṅgā chalañ cha medini
Gaṅgā Kalaśa saṅyuktam[152]
Gaṅgādevī namastu te
Oṁ Śrī Gaṅgā mahādevī
Sukṣmāmṛtansañjivanī[153]
Oṁ karākṣara bhuvanam
Padāmṛtam manohara[154]
Utpatti ka surakṣaś cha
Utpatti ka stava ghoraś cha
Utpatti śarva hitañ cha
Utpatti va śrī vahīnam.[155]

Next, the Vālaka begs forgiveness from the Goddess Gaṅgā (Holi-water), reciting the following prayer:

> "Oṁ kṣama svamam mahādeva sarvaprani hitan karam
> namos cha sarva papebyaḥ palayasva Sadaśiva.
> Pāpo' ham pāpakarmaham
> pāpātmā pāpasambavaḥ
> trahi mam sarvapapebyah
> kenachid mama rakṣantu".

Then he chants the "Pañchatīrta" mantra:

> "Om pañchākṣaram mahātīrtham,
> Pāvitram pāpanāsanam
> Pāpakoṭisahasranam
> Agadhem bhavet sāgaram".

Then with his middle finger dipped in the holy water he rotates it in the right direction meanwhile reciting the following:

> "Oṁ Bhūr Bhvah Svah
> mahá Gaṅgāyae pāvitrani svāhā".

He continues:

> "Oṁ tīrthāyam tīrtha pavitram
> Gaṅgā reṇu toya ganam
> Puruṣo tīrtha pavitram
> Śiva Parama tīrthañ cha
> Śiva Sadaśiva tīrtham
> Paramaśiva tīrthañ cha
> Buddha-Śiva tīrtha gamanam
> Paramaśiva mūrtinam
> Igama Īśvara devam
> Ugama Viṣṇu devatāḥ
> Āgama Brahmā devatáḥ
> Mahādeva kṛtajñanam
> Oṁ Guṁ Guru Pāḍukebhyo namaḥ".

Then he sprinkles the holy water in every direction (five cardinal points supposed to be the fencing of the Quarters of sky) by shaking a flower which has soaked holy water. All these points are the abodes of Lord Śiva. Each sprinkling is accompanied by the following:

> " Oṁ Saṁ Saṁ Saṁ amṛta paripūṇāya namaḥ (Pūrva)
> Oṁ Aṁ Aṁ Aṁ amṛta paripūrṇāya namaḥ (Dhakṣina)
> Oṁ Taṁ Taṁ Taṁ amṛta paripūrṇāya namaḥ (Paścima)
> Oṁ YaṁYaṁ Yaṁ amṛta paripūrṇāya namaḥ (Uttara)
> Oṁ Vaṁ Vaṁ Vaṁ amṛta paripūrṇāya namaḥ (Madhya)".

He continues with the following mantra:

> "Oṁ Viṣṇu devam, Viṣṇu mantram
> Viṣṇu vidhi, Viṣṇu Kṛṭṭam namaḥ svāhā
> Oṁ Śiva devam, Śiva Siddhi
> Śiva kṛṭṭam namaḥ svāhā".

Now he pays homage to the Goddess (Holy water), uttering the following prayer:

> "Oṁ Sūryaloka nāthasya
> Varadasya suvarchchhasaḥ
> Sarva tathāsya siddhantaḥ
> Śraddhāyantana bhasitaḥ
> Asitah maṇḍalam mṛtyuh
> Sitala śatrūnasanam
> Kavivisya mahā tejah
> Rākta sarva bhaho bhavah
> Oṁ Hraṁ Hrīṁ Saḥ Paramaśivādityāmṛta
> Mudrāya namaḥ svāhā".

Afterwards he dips the flowers into the holy water which was used for the worship. The method of general consecration of water (Toya Pānglukatan) is applicable to every "Pūjā" for purifying the Bhūtas (evil) in the body. According to the Lontar "Pūjāvṛṭṭvālaka", there is a special method also. The Vālaka who wants to perform the "Pānglukatan" (Holy water for purification), takes the flowers and then claps his hand together (amuṣṭi), reciting the following mantra:

> "Oṁ Oṁ namaḥ
> Oṁ Ākāśabyoma Śivāya namaḥ
> Oṁ Pṛthvī prbhāvatī namaḥ
> Om Huṁ Raḥ Phaṭ astrāya namaḥ".

And then, holding the "Śivambha" (pot) over the smoke rising from the incense, he recites:

"Oṁ Maṁ Īśvarāya namaḥ
Oṁ Saṁ Baṁ Taṁ Āṁ Īṁ
Naṁ Maṁ Śiṁ Vaṁ Yaṁ
Aṁ Uṁ Maṁ".

He covers the pot with his palm saying:

"Oṁ Hruṁ kavachāya namaḥ".

The Vālaka, then, fills the *Śivambha* with water. He does it very slowly and meanwhile recites:

"Oṁ Hraṁ Hrīṁ Saḥ
Paramaśivāmṛtāya namaḥ".

Then he prays for the destruction of obstacles (the expelling of the sins and Vighna's).

"Oṁ sarva balikam pṛthvī
Brahmā Viṣṇu Īśvara
Hanaking Deva putra, sarva mastu
Sang prajāyeng sarva ḍoh
Śuddhamala, śuddha pātaka, suddha vighna
Śuddha sakalwiraning Daśa mala
Oṁ Siddhi Guru Sroṁ saḥ vosaṭ, sarva kleśa
Sarva pāpa, sarva śatrū vināśaya namaḥ svāhā".

He puts the *Dwi-dwi* (thorns) along with sandal paste, flowers, rice and kuśa-grass into the holy water *Pānglukatan* and simple water is transformed into Amṛta. Immediately after he pays homage to the Lord Gaṇapati, singing a hymn of praise to the Lord:

"Oṁ Namostu te Gaṇapati
Sarvavighna vināśanam
Sarvakārya prasiddhantam
Mama kārya prasiddhantu
Vinayakam Gaṇapati
Sarvakleśa vināśanam
Mahāśakti karam nityam
Tvam mami varampradam".

V. Conclusion

Once the worship proper is over the deity will leave the Vālaka's body. So the Vālaka, now, has to hold his breath and then release it slowly. Meanwhile the following is recited twice:

"Oṁ Aṁ Maṁ Aḥ Aṁ".

Having said all this the Vālaka picks some flowers and pays devotion to the Gods and their "Sanggar Parahyangan" (the assemblage of shrines). Once again he folds his hands for paying the farewell homage, reciting the following:

"Oṁ Ātmā tatvātmā śuddha mam svāhā".

Next he offers service to Lord Śivāditya, reciting the hymn of the praise to the Lord:

"Oṁ Ādityāsya paramajyoti
Rākta teja namastute
Śveta paṅkaja madhyaste
Bhāskarāya namo namaḥ
Oṁ Hraṁ Hrīṁ Saḥ.
Paramaśivāditya namo namah".

Again he eulogises all forms of Lord Śiva (Śiva samudaya), reciting:

"Oṁ Samuddayāma Śivāya
Naraṣṭama saṅgaya
Saya namo masaṅgāya
Namas te Bāyu Ākāśām
Pṛthviyam namaḥ svāhā
Vāsukiya namaḥ svāhā
Chandrāditya namaḥ svāhā
Gaṇa kumārāya svāhā".

Reciting the following he adores the supreme deity:

"Oṁ Namo devāya, Ādiṣṭanāya
Sarva vyāpine Śivāya
Padmāsanāya, Eka pratiṣṭāya
Ardhanareśvariya namaḥ svāhā".

Touching his forehead with his hands he begs for the Lord's favour chanting the following:

"Oṁ Anugraham manoharam
Devatānugrahakam

rice and vegetables put over leaves are placed both inside and outside the house and also the temple. Thereafter they eat their meals which they call as Yajña-śeṣa (Prasada). There are five important Yajñas (Pañchamahāyajña), as laid down by the texts, to be performed by every Hindu household. These are Ṛṣiyajña (Skt: Brahmayajña), Devayajña, Pitṛyajña, Manuṣayajña and Bhūtayajña, and it is obligatory for the Balinese Hindus to perform these Yajñas also known as Pañchamahāyajña.

The first of these namely the Ṛṣiyajña, is intended for studying and teaching the religious scriptures. It can also be performed by being obedient and attentive to the priests and pious men and also by practicing their teaching. Another way for performing Rṣiyajña is to provide "Dakṣiṇā" to the priests.

Devayajña another important Yajña is accomplished by means of sacrifice to the Gods. The gods are honoured through the worship in domestic and public temples. The third Yajña is "Manuṣayajña".

II. Manuṣayajña

Manuṣayajña comprises of a number of ceremonies which are performed almost at every important occasion in one's life. The first and foremost of these is the one performed at the time of marriage called *Masakapan.*

(i) *Vivāha (Marriage) :* Manu described eight forms of marriages, such as Paiśacha, Rākṣasa, Gandharva, Āsura, Arṣa, Daiva, Prajāpatya and Brāhmavivāha.[160] The Balinese too follow various procedures laid down for marriage. Some of the most popular of these forms are Māpādik, Ngérorod and Maplagaṇḍāng. The last of these is forbidden by law in Modern Bali as it allows the forcible abduction of the girl. According to Manu's vocabulary it will be termed as Rākṣasa-vivāha. Māpādik is the form prevelant among the higher castes. It lays down for an arranged marriage in which the parents are approached and their consent is obtained. Most probably it is the Brāhma-vivāha according to Manu's classification. In this form of marriage both the families take active part and their consent is necessary after which the couple is introduced in the family. The girl wears ornaments and is given to the boy who bears a good character.

The most popular form of marriage among the Balinese is *Ngarorod* or *Mérangkat.* The girl selects her husband herself or vice-versa. It is based on consent and love. When a boy elopes with a girl he is regarded as a hero like Arjuna, the brother of Yudhiṣṭhira, who ran away with Subhadrā the sister of Kṛṣṇa. King Duṣvanta and Śakuntalā of the Mahābhārata times also were married in this form. This form of marriage can be compared with the Indian "Gandharva-vivāha". Some of the other prominent examples of this form of marriage are Rūkmiṇī's marriage with Kṛṣṇa and Kṣitī-sundarī's marriage with Abhimanyu as per the Balinese Aṣṭadasaparva (i.e. Mahābhārata). According to Gautama, and Haritī, Gandharva-vivāha is one where a man and woman having entered a contract approach each other or a girl selects her own husband.[161] Manu, too, speaks about the young girl to marry a person of her choice.[162] From the Mahābhārata we know that Mahārṣi Kaṇva cited the marriage of a desiring woman with a desiring man as the best form of marriage.[163]

In ancient Bali, Daiva-vivāha was also prevalent. This kind of marriage was mostly performed when the bridegroom happened to be some Priest (Guru) whom the father of the girl gave his daughter as a mark of respect and obedience. The daughter was given as a sacrificial fees (Dakṣinā).[164] According to Baudhayana, when the girl was given as Dakṣinā to the Guru it was called Daiva-vivāha. This kind of marriage had been performed by Dang Hyang Dvijendra and Mpu Agnijaya in Bali.

Marriage in Bali is solemnized by the High Priest and the Pamangku on any auspicious day according to the Balinese Hindu calendar. The marriage paraphernalia in Bali resemble those followed in Tamil Nadu (South India). An important part of this ceremony is the worship of God Āditya who bears witness to the union of the couple and blessings by the High-Priest.

(ii) ***Garbhādhāna:*** Another important ceremony in connection with Manuṣayajña is called "Garbhādhāna-Yajña" or "Magedong-gedongān". It is performed when a woman conceives a child. This conception is first of all manifested by the stoppage of menstruation. According to Śaunaka, "the rite by the performance of which a woman receives semen scattered by her husband is called 'Garbhālambhanam' or 'Garbhādhāna'.[165]

After this rite has been performed the pregnant woman will be asked to listen to the stories of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata so that she delivers a good and talented baby. From the Mahābhārata we know that a similar exercise was done by Subhadrā when she had Abhimanyu in her womb. After the birth of the baby the parents will make offerings called "Sasāyut-Panampi" or "dapetan" (Skt: Jatakaraṇa). By this offering the parents thank God that they have received a new baby.

After five or seven days of the birth of the baby, the house-holder performs "képus-pungséd" ceremony (the cutting of the navel). After the baby is forty two days old, the ceremony of "Nyambutin" (Skt: Niṣkarmaṇa) will be held for welcoming the baby. And then comes the "Tigang-śaśih" ceremony, when the baby is three months old.[166] It is followed by the rite whereby the child receives solid food for the first time (Skt: Chūdākaraṇa) are done by the High Priest. The baby now has a tuft of hair on the top of his head which is called 'Jambot' (Śika). The next ceremony is called "Eném-Śaśih" or "Wodalan" ceremony[167] wherein the Nāmakaraṇa rite is performed. It takes place after the baby is six months old. This ceremony too is performed by the High Priest. When a female child grows up and reaches the age of puberty, the "Rajasvala" ceremony" is held to announce her status as a women if the girl belongs to the higher caste. This ceremony is generally associated with "Mépandés" ceremony or the tooth-filling ceremony, which is performed for both girls and boys. In the case of boys the right occasion for this ceremony is the time when his voice starts becoming hoarse and shrill and it is supposed that he, too, is entering the age of adulthood.

(iii) ***Pitṛyajña:*** A ceremony performed after the death of a person is considered to be the most important of the Balinese religious rites. It is called "Pām-Bhaṣmian", "Palebon" or "Ngaben". It is also known as "Asti-vidhāna" or "Śava-vidhāna". A funeral pyre is lit for the dead body. After the body has burnt down the ashes and other remains are collected and later on immersed into the river or the sea. The Balinese procedure for cremation consists of a number of rites which have turned the whole ceremony into an expensive affair in modern times. These ceremonies aim at the gradual purification of the dead to enable him to attain "Mokṣaḥ" (Paramaśiva). Mourning has no place for the Balinese, because it is believed that after death the soul is liberated.

According to the Balinese, Ngabēn or the first cremation is not enough to liberate the Ātmā from the bondage of "Saṁsāra". The Ātmā is still accosted by "Māyā". It is said that after the destrucion of the physical body (Sṭhula-śarīra) the Ātmā will be released and assume the form of "Sūkṣma-śarīra" or subtle-body. The dead body will be back to its original form "Pañcha-mahābhūtas", i.e. fire, water, earth, ether and wind. The Ātmā in the shape of Sūkṣma-śarīra still desires to lead a worldly life. It is still catered to by the five Karmendriyas, five Jñanendriyas, mind, intellect and ego. After the cremation is over the Ātmā turns into a "Preta".[168] It has to go and settle in the Bhuvah-loka or Pitṛ-loka. So the Balinese offer the Pretas a "Sāji-tarpaṇa" or "Śrāddha" to release them from the thirst and hunger during their journey.

Thus, the second cremation is needed. It is called "Ātmā-vidhāna", "Mamukur" or "Mahāligiya-Ṛṣi-bhojana-ceremony". The second cremation may take place either after twelves days (Ngārorāsin) or forty two days (Śaśih-pitung-dina) of the first cremation. As there is no dead body at the time of second cremation, a "puṣpa-śarīra" is made, burnt and thereafter the ashes dropped into the sea or river. The second cremation or "Mamukur" is completed with the "Ṛṣi-bhojana" (feeding the Brāhmaṇas). In this ceremony, a holy feast is offered to the High Priests, and to the people of royal families who have already done the "Abhiṣeka" ceremony (king) by one of royal family.

It is believed that the "Mamukur" rite liberates the Ātmā and helps it to go to the celestial region. Now the Ātmā assumes the "kāraṇa-śarīra". This ceremony is the best way to liberate ancestors from the bondage of avidyā. So, the Ātmā can now reach the destination, Svah-loka. In fact the Svah-loka is also not the Ātmā's last destination. The last and the final destination of the Ātmā or soul is "Mokṣaḥ". It will depend on his own "Karmaphāla" and "Śubhāśubha-karma" in his life on earth. The man who performs the Pitṛyajña means that he has payed his due to his ancestors.

(iv) ***Bhūtayajña:*** The last of the Pañchamahāyajña is Bhūtayajña. It is performed by making offerings of sacrificial animals. The Lontar Ḍangḍang-Bangbungalan mentions that there are three levels of Bhūtayajñas such as Niṣṭa-Bhūtayajña (lowest), Maddhya-Bhūtayajña (middle), and Uttama-Bhūtayajña (highest).[169] At all these levels sacrifices of animals are made for the consumption of the Bhūtas. Niṣṭa-Bhūtayajña is performed after every five years. Madhya-

Bhūtayajña is performed after ten years, and the Uttama-Bhūtayajña is known as Ekadaśarudra-Bhūtayajña. In this sacrifice, eleven kinds of animals are sacrificed including buffalo, lions, elephant, rhino, and garuḍa (bird?).

RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS

As in India, the Balinese have many festivals in different times of the year. One such festival is the Sarasvatī Day. It is celebrated on Śaniśchara Watugunung every six months. It lasts for five days the Goddess of knowledge is worshipped. Fast is observed on the first day. On the second day, also called "Banyu-Pinaruh-Day", yellow coloured cooked rice will be distributed among the participants. Later in the day processions are brought out and the offerings made to the Goddess are finally thrown into the river. The third and the fourth days are called "Soma-ribek" and "Sābuhmās-Day" respectively. Soma-ribek is the day for the worship of Goddess Śrī, whereas Goddess Lakṣmī is worshipped on "Sābuhmās day". It is believed that these Goddesses, if pleased, bestow wealth and food unto the devotee.

On the last day called "Pagerwesi" Day (Skt: Durga) people worship Goddess Durgā. Lord Paramesti Guru is also worshipped on the same day. In India, this festival is known as Durgā Pūjā.

Philosophically speaking this five-day festival indicates that knowledge (Sarasvatī Pūjá) leads to happines (Śrī and Lakṣmī Pūjā), which, in turn, enables one to go to the heaven (Durgā Pūjā).

Galungan-Day (Ṇava-rātrī) is celeberated continuously for ten days. In India, it is known as "Dussehrā". Two days before Galungan Day, the Balinese perform the Bhūtayajña. They offer meat and bones, wine and water to the Bhūtas Sang-Kāla-Tiga i.e. Bhūta-Galungan, Bhūta-Dungulan and Bhūta-Amangkurāt.[170]

This kind of Bhūtayajña is called "Abhāyakāla" or "Abhāyakawon". In this ceremony, in order to purify the Bhūtas, the mantras are chanted by the Pamangku and Ṛṣi-Bhujangga. When, the ceremony is over, the Bhūtas attain divine forms. The fearful Goodess Kālī will assume the form of Goddess Durgā and protect her devotees. This ceremony is supposed to put an end to the impurities, dangers and evil in men's mind.

Galungan Day is celeberated by making offerings to the Gods and Pitṛs. The Balinese recite mantras and worship the Gods. Thereafter they do tapa, yoga and samādhi. The offerings will be made continuously for ten days. The tenth day or the Nava-rātrī, also the last day of Galungan festival, is called "Kuningan Day (Vijayadaśami) or the day of victory. On this particular day, the offerings have to be made before noon, because it is said that the Pitṛs will leave the earth for heaven by that time.

The Lontar Mayadānava informs us about a myth related with the Galunganday. It is said that the former ruler of Bali was a demon king, Mayadānava. He did not believe in God and instead declared himself to be the God on earth. His Balinese subjects were not allowed to worship their Gods. Assisted by the God Indra and the Āryans from India, the Balinese people revolted against this king of Bali. Māyādānava was defeated in a fierce battle. Thus the Balinese were liberated from the bondage and were once again free to worship their Gods.[171] Galungan day is celeberated to mark that day of victory. The Lontar Jayakasunu mentions that some decades after when the new kings of Bali started neglecting the Galungan and Kuningan days, they were doomed with destruction. Later on king Śrī Aji Jayakasunu did penance and meditated in the "Kṣetragandhāmayu". The Goddess Bhaṭṭārī Durgā appeared before the king and asked him to observe Galungan and Kuningan days. Since then the Galungan and Kuningan days have always been celeberated in Bali by the rulers and the people without fail. This is celeberated on Budha-kaliwon-Dungulan, twice every year.

Galungan and Kuningan are the most important festivals in Bali. It is considered to be God's victory over the demoniac king Māyādānava (literaty meaning the demon of Māyā or illusion or worldly attachments). This festival commemorates the glory of God. It symbolises a battle between Dharma and Adharma. In other words it signifies the triumphant ovation to the "Jīva" to attain "Mukti".

Another important festival is Śivarātrī. It is the holy night of Lord Śiva. It is supposed to be the most auspicious day for the worship of Lord Śiva. In this festival penance and fasting is performed for thirty-six hours continously. It starts from six o'clock in the morning till six O'clock in the evening of the next day. According to the Lontar Lubdhaka, one who performs yoga and meditation to Lord Śiva on this holy night will certainly be saved and attain heaven as his reward.

Nyepi Day (Śakasamvat) is another important Balinese festival. This is the Balinese Śaka-New Year. It falls on the dark moon of "Śaśih-kā Sāngā" every year in March. Nyepi day is celeberated with absolute peace and silence. On that day to lit fire, to work, or to drive vehicles are forbidden. The Balinese only stay at home to pray and meditate. That is why the Śaka year is called "Nyepi" day, or the day of silence. A day before the Śaka-New Year begins, the great Bhūtayajña will be performed by the rulers and the people to clean and purify the country and the houses from evil influences. The Pamangku, the High Priest, and Ṛṣi-Bhūjangga recite mantras to purify the Bhūtas. This is a day of annihilation of impurities in man's life and his environment.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

The most striking feature of the Balinese life is its Hindu joint family system. All the members of the joint family live together and enjoy the property in common. The system of joint family existed in Bali in the past and it continues up to the present day. The descendants of the once royal family, too, follow this system. The women in joint families were under the general control of the eldest married lady in the family. Generally, the younger members of the family respected and obeyed their elders. The father was the head of the family.

No Balinese regards his wife's relatives as being of his own family, if it happens to be an intercaste marriage. The general practice is to marry within one's own caste and clan. The Balinese boy is not forbidden to marry his cousin. The marriage with the cousin's daughter is supposed to be very good one. It is called "Prabhu-ngembān-putra".

Widow marriage was generally unpopular in ancient Bali. If the husband died, the wife generally did not marry again. In few cases, the widow is allowed to marry her husband's brother. Among the high caste or royal family, the wife would die at the funeral pyre of her husband. This was known as "Satya" or "Sati". Basically it was a Kṣatriya-custom widely known in ancient Bali, like India. Some scholars believe that this custom, in India, originated among the Kṣatriyas or the royal families between 400 A.D. to 700 A.D.[172] The Sati system has been mentioned by Vātsyayana, Bhāsā and Kālidāsa. The Mahābhārata also speaks about Sati. The story is well-known in Bali that Mādrī died at the funeral pyre of her husband Pāṇḍu. Even Devī Uttarī, Dusśalā and Devī Pauruī died on the funeral pyres of their husbands, Abhimanyu, Jayadratha and Duryodhana respectively. We know from the Mahābhārata that the courageous wives of Kṛṣṇa immolated themselves in Indraprastha after his death.[173] Later on the custom was followed by the Brāhmaṇas also.[174] But the Padma Purāna does not allow the Brāhmaṇa's widows to perform it.[175] In Bali, this practise was not popular among the Brāhmaṇas, but the Vaiśyas[176] took to it speedily. It is said that when the rulers of Karangasem and Buleleng died, their wives and slaves, former numbering one hundred, immolated themselves. Thus, we see that the custom of Sati was widely popular at least in some upper castes, in ancient Bali. It became more so during the post-Majapahit period. It was believed that those who offered themselves as Sati would gain the highest heaven along with their husbands. So it was performed with great rejoicing.

Those unwilling were not forced to perform it. According to the Lontar Babad Blahbatuh.[177] I Gusti Luh Made, who belonged to Cheluk-village, became a Sati.

An eye-witness account of Sati is rendered by late Rājadevatā Ida Anak Agung Putu Oka Manēk who tells us that the last Sati in the kingdom of Badung was performed about 1904, two years before the Badung kingdom was conquered by the Dutch. It is said that the female inmates of the Royal house of Denpasar, including the queens, concubines, and the former princess of Mengwi, immolated themselves as Satis after the death of the king of Denpasar. While going to the funeral pyre they were all clad in white clolthes. Holy mantras were recited by the High Priests, and the women jumped into the funeral pyres. The Dutch were opposed to the practice of Sati, and they abolished it in or about 1911.

ĀŚRAMA SYSTEM

The Hindus follow a particularly unique system by which they divide an individual's life into four different stages. The Chatur-Āśrama life is the very essence of the spiritual culture of Hindus.

According to the Āśrama System, the whole of an individual's life, from birth to death, has been regulated, keeping in view the material, as well as the spiritual, ends. Each particular stage stipulates specific duties for one to observe. This four fold division of one's life, as laid down by the Āśrama system in accordance with the injunctions of the Hindu śāstras, were, however, observed only theoretically in Bali. In actual practice, it did not gather much momentum.

Chatur-Āśrama system was adopted in Bali without any distinction of race, locality, caste on sex. The Dvijendratattva, the Silakrama, the Agastya and the Babad Pasek are some of the sources which provide us with a glimpse of the Āśrama life. According to the Agastya Parva this four fold division meant the division of one's life in four stages such as Brahmachārya, Gṛhastha, Vānaprastha and Bhikṣuka or Sannyāsi. It is narrated as below:

Chaturāśrama ngaranya
Brahmachārī, Gṛhastha
Vānaprastha, Bhikṣuka,
Nahan tang chaturāśrama ngaranya.[178]

The first of these is Brahmachārya (Studentship). This stage meant the period for getting educated and trained in various spiritual and material fields. No minimum age limit was prescribed for one's entry into this stage. Whereas Manu prescribed five years age for Brāhmaṇas, six years for Kṣatriyas and eight years for Vaiśyas,[179] it was not so in Bali. Most of the students, both male and female, enter the stage of Brahmachārya quite late in their life, when they become mature enough. According to the Vṛtiśasāna there are three kinds of Brahmachāris, namely, Śukla Brahmachārī, Śavala-Brahmachārī, and Tṛṣṇa-Brahmachārī or Kṛṣṇa-Brahmachārī.

The lontar Ślokāntara mentions as below:

Śuklabrahmachārī ngaranira tan parabi
sangkan rare, Savalabrahmachārī nga-
ranya, marabi pisan, tan parabi muwah
kunang yan kahalangan mati strīnnira,
tan parabi muwah, muwah sira
kṛṣṇabrāhmachārī, marabi papat tang
hinghingnya, tan parabi muwah.[180]

From the literary records of the Upaniṣadic period in India we can gather that women, too, were eligible to get enrolled as students. Maitreyī, Gārgī and Arundhatī are some of the luminaries of the age.

According to the Śilakrama the first phase of study meant studying the Pañcha-yama-brata and the Pañcha-niyama-brata.[181] The disciple was expected to lead a life of strict celebacy. It was followed especially by the female disciples, and not by the males, many of whom were already married. But the discipline was strict for both of them. The course of study prescribed for them was a collection of mantras, various scriptures, astrology and astronomy.[182] The Brahmachārya-Āśrama was more important for the Trivarṇa, who were supposed to perform various sacrificial rites and preach religious instructions later in their lives.

The disciples had great regard for the "Guru" and honoured him as their spiritual father serving him with faith and devotion. The Brahmachārīs of all castes were initiated with the Māwintén ceremony (Skt: Upanayana Saṁskara). The completion of this life was marked with the "Dikṣā" and the "Poḍgala" ceremony. This was performed after the bathing ceremony (Snāna). The Brahmachārīs were kept in a room for one night and one day. After that the Guru used to touch the heads of his disciples with his feet. And then they received their new titles according to their castes. The title "Padaṇḍa" was given to Brāhmaṇas, and "Bhagavān" and Rājaṛṣi to Kṣatriyas. Ṛṣi-Bhujangga, Śrī Mpu and Mpu were the other titles accorded to the students belonging to Séngguhu, Pasék and Pandé clans respectively. Girl students were given the title of "Padaṇḍa-kanyā" or "Padanḍastrī" depending upon the maritial status. Only Brāhmaṇa girls were entitled to this. If a Brahmachārī did not complete his study of religious instructions, he was given the title "Pamangku", "Baliān" or "Dukuh". But there would be no "Dikṣā" ceremony for him.[183]

The Brahmachārya Āśrama was succeeded by the Gṛhastha Āśrama. According to the Āśrama system, the disciple, after finishing his studies, should marry. Manu says that after having studied the Vedas, let him dwell in the house-holder order. One of the important duties of a Gṛhstha was to perform the Pañcha Mahāyajña, and his participation in various other household activities. It is said that every Hindu is born with Triṛṇa (three debts to the world), which he has to repay during his life. By studying and preaching religious instructions, he pays the first debt. For the second debt, he observes various ceremonies and worships the Gods, and for the last debt he offers sacrifice to the departed ancestors. Marriage, too, is mandatory for every Hindu to pay these debts. But the Jabalopanisad, however, exempts those from marriage, who become Sanyāsīs immediately after completing the period of Brahmachārya.[184]

Vanaprastha is the third stage. Manusmṛiti[185] lays down that when one has been blessed by a grandson, and when approaching old age starts leaving marks on one's physique by turning one's hair white and skin wrinkled, one should retire into the forests and take to the life of a hermit. This is the time for him to transfer the house-hold responsibilities unto his sons. This period of Vānaprastha was to be mostly used for social service. During this period the Vānaprasthi should not seek gifts from anyone. He is to devote his time to the study of holy books. He should also take to some or the other form of social work, by which he may be of help to the society as a whole. In short, it is a period of social service and spiritual attainment. The Vānaprasthi performs Tri-sandhya to worship Lord Āditya. Some of the famous Balinese Vānaprathis were Mpu-Kuturan, Mahāṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeya, Mpu Kulputih, Ḍang Hyang Aṣtapaka, Mapu Agnijaya and Ḍang Hyang Dwijendra.

Sannyāsa is the fourth and the last stage of the Chaturāśrama system. Balinese literature calls it the Bhikṣuka stage. Unlike the preceding stage of Vānaprastha where he could live with his wife, in Sannyāsi he has to live without her. The Sārasamucchaya has the following to say about Vānaprastha and Sannyāsa: "A Vānaprasthi or Sannyāsi who retains attachment and cooks for himself, an unwise orator, a monarchless land, and a family man who bears no affection to his children, all of them, O,king, reach a deplorable plight"[186]

This is the period when he strives hard for his spiritual liberation. At this stage of his life he has to stand above the beliefs of caste and creed and other worldly desires. The Sannyāsi makes special efforts towards spiritual advancement. The Agastya Parva narrates as below:

> "Huwus pwa sira Vanaprastha, Bhikṣuka ta sira
> mur sakeng patapan ira, nisparigraha, tan pa
> ngaku patapan, tan pangaku śiṣya, tan pangaku
> pangawruh, pada ya tininggalaken ira".[187]

Of the four Āśramas, this seems to have been the most neglected one in Bali. The Lontar Dvijendratattva, however, informs us about Brāhmaṇa Priest Ḍang Hyang Dvijendra, who became a Sannyāsi, left his wives and children, along with his wealth. He then wandered alone and visited a number of holy places. It is said that he attained liberation in the Andhākāśa hills (Luhur Uluwatu) in South Bali. Thus this fourfold division of Chatur Āśrama was supposed to be a part of the continuous process whereby men strove for perfection in four successive stages.

RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS

Gurus and Āśramas were centres of learning in ancient times. These served also as rest-houses for the pilgrims. Major contribution in the field of religious and spiritual learning was made by the Gurus of various Āśramas.

East Java in Indonesia has been known from the very beginning for its learning. It was the centre of Hindu learning and culture since the tenth century A.D. Records of Kavi literature reveal that the kings of East Java were great patrons of learning. Mpu Sinḍok, Dharmavaṁṣa, Airlangga, Jayabhaya and Kāmeśvara are some of the most prominent patron kings who encouraged the scholars in their respective courts. It was precisely because of this generous assistance and encouragement that great works on astrology, philosophy, medicine, astronomy and religion were produced. The Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas were also composed in Kavi language.

Later on, many teachers and philosophers from Java came to Bali. They brought large body of literature pertaining to Brāhmaṇic and Buddhist faith and philosophy. The Balinese kings made them generous grants of land and helped them in establishing their own schools. These schools sprouted into great centres of learning. The Gurus, here, did not teach only the theories, but they also trained their students on the basis of their own practical experience. The students were given 'Dikṣā', and knowledge regarding various religious sects was imparted to them. The lontar Babad Pasek, the Dwijendratatva, the Babad Ārya bang Pinatih and other sources supply ample evidence of the existence of such Āśramas as distinct schools of thought. It must, however, be stated that there was no special school of thought in Bali in evidence so far that expounded a full-fledged treatise on matters concerned with life and beyond life. Nevertheless there were a number of new ideas and beliefs which made creative contributions to the treasure-house of Balinese life and culture. In Bali the teachers did not belong to the Brāhmana caste only. There were others also. Among the famous Balinese Gurus who came from Java were Mpu Kulputih, Mpu Kuturan, Ḍang Hyang Dvijendra, Mahāṛṣi Mārkandeya, Siddhimantra and Ḍang Hyang Aṣṭapaka. Most of them belonged to the Śaiva school.

One important school in Bali was that of Mārkaṇḍeya. According to the tradition he was an Indian who came from Java to Bali. This school is supposed to be the first among various others, which, later on, became prevalent in Bali. Mahāṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeya's Āśrama was situated in Sarvada village in Taro hills. There seems to have been another Āśrama founded by the same Mahāṛṣi at the foot of Mount Agung (Toh-langkir).[188]

Sage Mārkaṇḍeya was the follower of Śaiva-siddhānta. It is said that the foundation of the Pura Basakih temple was laid by Mahāṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeya and his disciples. The branches of Mārkaṇḍeya Āśramas were spread all over Bali such as in Batur, Sukhavana, Watukaru and Andhākāśa.

Another famous school was founded by Kuturan who hailed from Kaḍiri in East Java. Kuturan was also a follower of Śaivism. This school is known since the tenth century A.D. The disciples of this school were famous in Java as well as in Bali. They followed the tradition of "Ādi-Guru". The chief seat of Kuturan-school was at Śilayukti. Mostly the Gurus of this school got high positions in royal courts as Judges, Generals, Ministers, Advisers and Poets.

The Kuturan-school philosophy has been expounded at its best, in the Śilakrama, the Kusumadeva, the Vidhiśāstra, and the Sangharayuga.[189] The disciples were taught about the principles of dualism, karmaphala and punarbhava.[190] Kuturan-school reformed Hinduism in Bali, specially in the field of philosophy and construction of temples. Before he came to Bali, the Bali-Aga had only one kind of temple in every village. Kuturan made a new regulation about the standard types of temples. He introduced three types of temples or "Kayangantiga" in every village for all sects. There were many sects in Bali during that time. The three kinds of temples were Pura-Dalém temple, Pura-Puseh temple and Pura-Deśa temple.[191] All these temples did not exist before Kuturan came over to Bali.

Most probably Kuturan united the various sects of Brāhmaṇical religion into three broad groups in Bali. The sects of Śaivism, Tantrism, Gaṇapatya and Śaurya were combined to form one group. The symbol of this unity was the Pura-Dalem temple. It was for worshipping Lord Śiva in all His manifestations. This temple was generally situated in the lower village. All shades of Vaiṣṇavites were also united into one group and the symbol of their unity was Pura-

Puseh temple. This temple was for God Viṣṇu and his various manifestations. It was situated in the central part of the village. The various sects owing allegience to Brahmā were also united with the symbol of Pura-Deśa temple. This temple was generally constructed in the upper part of the village. All these temples were called "Kayangan-tiga".

The Balinese who had strong faith in their pre-Hindu religion were ordered to build the ancestral temple or "Sanggah-Kawitan".[192] Every temple was divided into three parts, the upper part was symbolic of Svah-loka, the central part of Bhuvahloka, and the lower part was symbolised Bhūr-loka.

Kulputih was also known as Kulpetak Dwijākṣara came out with the novel idea of reciting the mantras in local language which were hitherto chanted in Sanskrit. For this he translated the Sanskrit mantras, and also composed new mentras in Balinese language. His doctrine included tenets from both the pre-Hindu religion and also the Brāhmāṇical religion. He preached the worship of Praliṅga and Pratimā. Most of his disciples were given the titles of "Pamangku", "Balian", "Jero-Kābāyān". We learn from literary sources that this school had become very popular chiefly among the Bali-Aga and the common people. I Goto was one of the famous disciples of this school.[193]

One important school was that of Agnijaya. It was founded by Agnijaya. He was a Śaivite who came from Java and built his Āśrama in Silayukti. Principles of dualism of Śaiva philosophy and liberation were the principal subjects taught in the Āśrama. They tried to find out the reality of "nirvaṇa-śūnya" (Disolution of liberation) and "Paramaśūnya" (The highest reality).

The last famous school in the sixteenth century A.D. was that of Dvijendra-school. Now the Majapahit Empire was on decline. The great Priest Ḍang Hyang Dvijendra migrated to Bali along with his family and founded his Āśrama. Later on he became famous by the name of Ḍang hyang Nirartha and Padaṇḍa Śakti Wawu Rawuh.

His Āśrama had a number of branches all over the island. One situated in Mās village was the most famous. This school introduced many new ideas in the sphere of religion, customs and sacrificial rites. He taught his disciples to believe in one reality i.e. one God. He introduced a new type of shrine which was called "Padmāsana". Most probably the Liṅga cult was replaced with this shrine. It was during the Ḍang Hyang Dvijendra period that the new form of four-caste system was established.[194]

Dvijendra was one of the most famous philosophers that Bali has ever known. He was a Brāhmaṇa from Kaliṅga (India) who came from Java to Bali. He based his teachings on the Upaniṣads, Purāṇas and Epics. Philosophy of liberation was propagated in this school.

The disciples of this school were Hindus as well as Muslims. He organized a body of priesthood which admitted persons irrespective of their castes. He established many monasteries. His school flourished not only in Bali, but also in Java, Lombok and Sumbawa islands.[195]

PHILOSOPHY OF BALINESE ŚAIVISM

The introduction of Balinese Śaivism does not appear to have been in anyway a revolt against the existing religious thoughts; rather it was a natural accompaniment of the growth of learning, leading to the development of Śaivism in Bali.

The Balinese Śaivism, from the literary point of view is the most important part of the Āgama Śāstras. Āgamas are also known as the Tantras. The Balinese embraced Śaivism in the form of Śiva-Siddhānta.[196] The usual form of Śaiva worship to which the Balinese society subscribed is called Monism with dualistic touch. Monistic Śaivism holds that there is no difference between Śiva and His powers.[197]

The Balinese believe in dualism as well as in its negation. The philosophy of dualism implies the existence of two currents, mutually opposite to each other in any object. These may be negative and positive, or static and dynamic. The dichotomy of reality is "Chetana" and "Achetana". According to Dr. Sudarshana Devi Singhal, "although monistic in its dichotomy of chetana and achetana, it appears to correspond roughly to Saṅkhya dualism".[198]

According to

The Lontar Vṛhaspatitattva (Kavi) provides us with a descriptive treatise about God. It expounds that there are three distinct forms in which God manifests himself. The highest and the most abstract among these is the Paramaśiva or the non-dual form, Sadaśiva (Bhedābheda) and Śiva or dual (Bheda)[199] being the other two. It is only one single God who assumes all these three forms without, at the same time, loosing his essential nature. Bhojadeva writes, "God is one, ubiquitous, eternal, self-existent, transcendent Lord, who is of the nature of pure consciousness, the cause of the world, and the bestower of grace on all beings".[200] Paramaśiva is also called Paramātmā. It is the Supreme Reality without any attribute (Niṣkala). He is the sole reality of a Being, eternal, self-existent and self-manifested. His manifestations can never be produced or destroyed. The whole of the universe is the manifestation of the One Absolute Reality (Paramaśiva). He himself is the universe. He is the Absolute Source, having no beginning and no end. The Lontar Bhuvanakośa and the Ḍangḍang-Bangbungalan narrate as below:

> Śivas sarvagatasukṣmaḥ
> bhūtanam antariksvat
> achintyam mahāgṛhyante
> naindriyam parigṛhyante.
> Bhaṭṭára Śiva sira vyapaka
> sira sūkṣma tar knēng agén agén
> kadyangganing ākāśa sira,
> tan kagrahita dēning manah
> mwang indriya.[201]

Paramaśiva is also called Chetana, the Eternal Being, which has no connection with the phenomenal world.[202] The concept of Balinese Paramaśiva is the highest Brahmā of the Vedānta philosophy. The nature of Paramaśiva is Satchidānanda.

When Paramśiva is covered by the Māyātattva (Achetana), the two, i.e. Puruśa and Prakṛtī, unite and give rise to Sadaśivatattva (Sadaśiva). It is symbolised in the union of Śiva and Pārvatī. Thus God with Māyā as His body, is the material cause and the efficient cause of the Universe. The Universe could not have come into existence unless Paramaśiva (the formless form) concretised himself as Māyā. He is described as Puruśa or the Individual-soul. In this form, in Bali, he is called Ardhanareśvarī. Achetana is the principal force, it being the cause of the world and the fountainhead of all change. Paramaśiva can not extend His grace without the help of His Śakti (Power). Paramaśiva and His Śakti (Māyā) are not different from each other. Inspite of Chetana's transformation into effect (universe), the essence of the Chetana's nature is consciousness, and it is not smeared by unconsciousness (Achetana), while the Achetana, on the other hand, is without knowledge and consciousness. Due to this, the cause, i.e. Chetana, remains unmanifested (Niṣkala). Only the effect is manifested (Sakala). So the Sadaśiva is called Sakala-niṣkala.

From the boundless mercy and power of Sadāśivatattva Chatusśakti (Four-powers), Vibhuśakti or prevaling power, Ichchāśakti or Kṛyāśakti (Power of will), Jñānaśakti or the power of knowledge, and Prabhuśakti, the power of domination, are produced. Thus Sadāśivatattva is omnipresent, omnicient and omnipotent. The Lontar Vṛhaspatitattva narrates as below:

> "Utpadaka na sadhakaḥ
> tat tasya anugrahaparaḥ
> virochanakaro nityaḥ
>
> śarvajña śarvakṛdvibhuḥ
> Savyaparah Bhaṭṭāra Sadaśiva
> hana padmāsana pinaka palungguhanira
> aparan ikang padmāsana ngaranya
> Śaktinira, Śakti ngaranya Vibhuśakti
> Prabhuśakti, Jñānaśakti, Kriyaśakti
> nahan hyang Chaduśakti".[203]

Sadaśiva is the source of "Triśakti" (Three powers) also. These are Utpatti, Sthiti, and Pralaya. Sadaśiva is active and all pervasive. He is the creator (utpatti), destroyer (pralīṇa), and bestows favours to all (Sthiti). He is the all doing, all knowing, indivisible, infinite and pure. He is the Supreme Being and the protector of the world.

All the powers of Sadaśiva mentioned above are manifested in the ten "Bījas" which in turn represent His ten aspects. These ten aspects are embodied in the "Pañcha-Brahma" and "Pañchākṣara". Lord Sadaśiva is pictured as surrounded by a group of eight 'Bījas', and two more, the Zenith and the Nadir. Every letter of Pañchākṣara and Pañcha-Brahma is identical with Lord Śadaśiva Himself. Though He is embodied in the Bījas or mantras yet He is eternally free and one. The Pañcha-Brahma and Pañchākṣara are; "Sa Ba Ta Ā Ī", "Namah Śivāya" respectively. Thus the directions as symbolised by Pañcha-Brahma are Sa, i.e. Sadyojāta or East, Ba i.e. Vāmadeva or South; Ta i.e. Tatpuruṣa or West; A i.e. Aghora or North, and finally I. i.e. Isāna or Centre.[204] These letters attribute to him certain actions such as creation (Ba), maintenance (Ā), destruction (Sa), act of veiling (Ta) and act of bestowing grace (Ī).

The five letters of the Pañchākṣara stand for five different directions. Na symbolises South-East, Ma South-West, Śi North-West, Va North-East and the fifth letter Ya stands for middle. The combination of Pañchākṣara and Pañcha-Brahma produces "Triyakṣara", i.e. A, U and M.[205] A stands for Brahmā (Utpatti), U for Viṣṇu (Sthiti) and M stands for Śiva (Pralaya).

The Lontar Babad-Pasek further explains that the vibration produced as a result of pronouncing the Triyakṣara could only be marked with the mystic symbols of "Ardhachandra", "Vindu" and "Nāda". The Triyakṣara will be pronounced as Aṁ, Uṁ and Maṁ instead of A, U and M respectively. These Triyakṣara also symbolise Bhur, Bhuvah and Svah respectively. The combination of the Triyakṣara produces Oṁkara. Thus from Niṣkala came Nāda, next Vindu and then Ardhachandra, and last of all Viśvā (Universe).[206] The Gaṇapati-tattwa narrates as below:

> Ikaṅ niṣkala mijilakén nāda
> Sakeng nāda namijilakén bindu
> Sakiṅ bindu namijilakén ardhachandra
> Sakiṅ ardhachandra namijilakén viśvā".

According to Siddhāntic Śāstra, "The all-Highest is formed of Śiva, pure knowledge, and Śakti, supreme energy, leading to the supreme wisdom and to salvation. When a world is to be created Paramaśiva releases his Śakti and blows pure but unmanifested life (Śuddhamāyā) into it. Śiva assuming the form of Nāda and Śakti that of the Vindu. These are in fact personifications of the sound that is the Doctrine, and of the Energy which is the driving force of all works of salvation. The Trinity of Paramaśiva, Nāda, and Vindu form the three fold niṣkala the immaterial form of the Lord".[207]

Further more the Lontar Babad-Pasek mentions about the "Bījas" of "Rwabhineda" or dualism and non-dualism such as Aṁ and Aḥ, where Aṁ is Chetana (Puruṣa), while, Aḥ is Achetana. The Lontar Padma Bhuvana throws some light on it, and reveals that Śiva is Aṁ as has been derived from Pañchākṣara, and Aḥ is Umā, from the Pañcha Brāhma. Both Aṁ and Aḥ are described as Oṁkara-Ngadég (stand upright) and Oṁkara-Sungsang (Upside-down). The union of Aḥ and Aṁ produces "Aham", that is "I-consciousness" or Paramaśivatattva.

From the Māyāśivastattva emerges the Śivatattva (Śiva). At this third level of His manifestation the supreme deity becomes the principal cause of the unconsciousness which marks the nature of Puruśa (Chetana). Here He himself is the Puruśa. He is the "Ātmā" and also the individual Ātmá (Sakala) in which He is regarded as the soul of all living beings. It gives life to all the creatures. Śiva is not only a symbol of one God of the Trimūrti, but He is also the self of all beings as immutable, eternal and ever perfect, because He is Chetana.

According to the Balinese Śaivism the lowest level of Paramaśiva is Lord Śiva in the "Sakala" form.[208] He is called Maheśa in Śivasiddhānta.

ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF BALINESE ŚAIVISM

The essential ingredients of Balinese Śaivism are based on the Śiva-Siddhānta system. The island of Bali was considered to be the centre of the universe where the Gods and Goddesses resided. It was imagined in the shape of a Golden Lotus where Lord Sadaśiva occupied the pride central place surrounded by eight petals (Padma-aṣṭa-dala) which in turn signified his eight powers. In the middle is "Padmāsana", the Seat of Lord Sadaśiva.[209] Each petal pointed towards eight directions of the universe. The 'Bīja's of Sadaśiva also called Pañcha-Brahma and Pañchākṣara dwell in the eight petals. Sa, Ba, Ta, Ā Ī, (Pañcha-Brahma) and Na, Ma, Śi, Va, Ya (Pañchākṣara) occupy some special points, the order begining with the East going Southwards (Pūrvadakṣina). All the cardinal points (Lokapālas) are attributed to various forms of Lord Sadaśiva. So Sadaśiva is surrounded by a group of eight Gods. This group of Gods and Goddesses is called "Nava-saṅga". It is expanded into a group of eleven (Eka-daśa-rudra) by the addition of two more deities protecting the Zenith and the Nadir. Thus the Ekādaśa-rudras or Ekādaśa-pālas dwell in every direction of Bali. Lord Sadaśiva assumes the eleven forms in order to bestow His grace.

Sa is Īśvara. It is the power which protects the Eastern region. His wife is Umā. He is white in colour and wields a 'Vajra'. The Pura Lémpuyang temple was erected in honour of God Īśvara. It is situated in Eastern Bali. Ba is the power of Sadaśiva that is called Brahmā. His Sakti is Sarasvatī. His colour is dark red and his weapon is "Gadā", or "Daṇḍa". He is the protector of the earth with his temple Pura Andhākāśa in South Bali. Ta stands for Mahādeva who resides in the West. His Śakti is Śatidevī. His colour is yellow and his weapon is "Nāga-pāśa". Pura Watukaru in West Bali is the temple for Him. A is the symbol for Viṣṇu, whose Śakti is Śrī. He is the protector of the North quarter. His emblem is black and the weapon is "Chakra". His temple Pura Batur Hulundanu is situated in North Bali. Ī is Sadaśiva who has a multi-coloured complexion. His Śakti is Umā. His weapon is "Padma". He is the Lord of central celestial region. The Taro (Basakih) temple was erected for the Lord to protect Bali. It is situated in the heart of the Bali island. Na is symbolic of Maheśvara, who rules the South-east heaven with the help of his Śakti Lakṣmī. His colour is light-red and weapon is "Dūpa". His temple is Pura Guha Lawah in South-East Bali. The letter for Rudra is Ma. He is the Lord of South-West. His Śakti is Chāmuṇḍā. He is orange coloured and holds a "Moṣala". Pura Huluwatu temple is the symbol of the seat of power of Rudra. It is situated in South-West of Bali. Śi the manifestation of Śaṅkara. He is green in colour. His Śakti is Raudrī, and weapon is "Aṅkuśa". His heaven is the North-West region which he rules from his seat at Pura Puñchak-Maṅgu located in North-West Bali. Va stands for Śambhu who is grey in colour. His Śakti is Mahādevī. His weapon is

"Triśūla". North-East region is presided over by him. Pura Basakih temple indicates His seat of power. Ya represents Śiva himself who is the protector of the Nadir of the universe. His colour is "Pañchavarṇa". Oṁ stands for the Paramaśiva, the Absolute Reality. He is recognized as the Lord of the Zenith.

Thus, according to the Balinese Śaivism, Bali is protected by the eleven powers of the Supreme Being. Every Balinese who follows the ritual path of salvation aspires to go on a pilgrimage to these sacred places at least once in his life. Usually pilgrims go to these holy temples after performing "Śṛāddha-ceremony" for their ancestors.

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38. According to Clifford Geertz: Kṛṣṇa Kepakisan, the founder of Samprangan, no longer remained a Brāhmṇa after he shifted to Bali lowered a notch to Kṣatriya status. Consequently his offsprings bore the title of Dālem and not Danghyang. His successor, the founder of Klungkung was called Deva Agung a still lower title by which all the Klungkung Kṣatriya were known subsequently.
39. *Sara-samuccaya,* edited by Raghu Vira, p. 54.
40. I.G.B. Sugriwa; *Babad Pasek* (terjemahan), p. 70.
41. Ārya Damar or Ādityavarman belonged to the Kṣatriya caste by birth. His father was a prince of Majapahit, and his mother was the princess of Malayu (Sumatra).
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51. B.N. Datta; *Studies in Indian Polity,* p. 166.
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53. Celestin Bougle; *Essays on the Caste System,* pp. 24-25.
54. G. Buhler; *The Law of Manu,* p. 403.
55. *Natural Symbol in South-East Asia,* edited by G.B. Milner, p. 19.
56. Kṣatriyas and Brāhmaṇas bear only three order numbers namely; "Putu" (Ngurah) "Made" and "Ketut". The Śūdras and Vaiśyas use the numbers up to four such as; "Wayan", "Made", "Nyoman" and "Ketut". Vaiśyas also used "Putu" instead of "Wayan". "Made" is a corruption of "Madhya" which means "the Middle".
57. *Sejarah Indonesia,* II, Edisi ke 2, Editor Bambang Sumadio, p. 171.
58. Tyra De Kleen met the king of Karangasem in about 1920. His name was I. Gusti Bagoos Jelantic. He used the title "Gusti" and not "Anak-Agung".
59. According to Tyra De Kleen the name of the ruler of Gianyar was I. Deva Ngurah Agung. He used the title "I Deva" and not "Anak Agung".

60. Many of them had been degraded from Kṣatriya to the Vaiśya caste due to their misbehaviour.
61. R.C. Majumdar; *India and South-East Asia,* p. 110.
62. Particle "I" stands for "Male" (Engl: Mr.) also.
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74. R.Goris; *Prasasti* Bali II, p. 183.
75. D.N. Pandit Sastri; *Sedjarah Bali Dwipa Djilid I,* p. 25.
76. D.N. Pandit Sastri; *Sedjarah Bali Dwipa Djilid I,* p. 90.
77. R. Goris; *Prasaati Bali,* II, p. 343.
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102. *Bhagavadgitā, X. 30.*
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147 Sa Ba Ta A I are called Pañcha Brahmā, and Ṇa Ṃa Sī Va Ya as Pañchākṣara, while the Triyākṣara are Aṁ Uṁ Maṁ i.e. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva.
148. The original text is "Oṁ, ṣama sampūrṇa".
149. Padmahṛdaya is the place of Brahmā.
150. Kuṭamantra is also called Mūlamantra.
151. The original text in Lontar Pūjāvṛṛṭiválaka is "Oṁ Gaṅga Devī mahā pūrṇam".
152. The text mentions "Gaṅgā taṅkora sañyuktam".
153. The text mentions "Anukṣamamṛtasañjivani".
154. The original text narrates" Paddhāmṛta manoharam".
155. The original text mentions, "Utpatti ka Śrī vahinam".
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157. *Bhagvadgitā,* IX. 26.
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159. R.N. Dandekar; *Insights into Hinduism,* p.78.
160. *Manusmṛti,* p. III. 21.
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163. *Ibid;* p. 163.
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166. One month of Balinese Hindu calender comprises of thirty five days.
167. The Balinese Hindus celebrate their birthday twice in a year.
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175. *Ibid.*; p. 128.
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178. J. Gonda; *Agastyaparwa,* p. 398.
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196. .I.B. Mantra; *Pengertian Civa-Bhuddha dalam Sedjarah Indonesia*, p. 270.
197. Jadunath Sinha; *Schools of Śaivism*, p. 44.
198. *Studies in Asian History and Culture*, edited by Buddha Prakash, p. 160.
199. *Wṛhaspati-tattva*, edited by Sudarshana Devi, pp. 76 and 100.
200. Jadunath Sinha; *Schools of Śaivism*, p. 103.
201. I.B. Oka Punyatmadja; *Pancha Cradha*, p. 40.
202. *Wṛhaspati-tattwa*, edited by Sudarshana Devi, p. 76.
203. I.B. Oka Punyatmadja; *Pancha Cradha*, p. 37.
204. T. Goudriaan and C. Hooykaas; *Stuti and Stava* (Bauddha, Śaiva and Vaiṣnava) of Balinese Brāhmana Priests, p. 225.
205. I.G. B. Sugriwa; *Babad Pasek* (terjemahan), p. 128.
206. *Gaṇapati-tattwa* (an old Javanese philosophic text), edited by Sudarshana Devi Singhal, pp. 152-153.
207. P.H. Pott; *Yoga and Yantra*, p. 109.
208. P.H. Pott; *Yoga and Yantra*, p. 109.
209. *Tattwajṇāna and mahajñāna* (two Kavi-philosophical texts) edited by Sudarshana Devi Singhal, 168.

5

Literary Growth

A MAJOR portion of Kavi literary works, available in Bali at present, is more than five centuries old, the latest works being composed in the fifteenth century. Moreover, these works were brought to Bali from Java. Bali had her own form of Hindu culture before the emergence of the Hindu-Javanese culture in Bali. This culture primarily owed its origin to Bali's direct contacts with India, which, in course of time, had not only led to the development of Hindu culture in Bali, but also raised it to the level of a dominant culture. Prior to the thirteenth century A.D. classical Balinese[1] and Sanskrit had the status of official languages in Bali. From the thirteenth century onwards we find edicts and royal decrees being written in the Kavi language of Java.

But this was not to last much longer. A process had already begun which was making great headway underneath the main current of Hindu culture. The process began as early as the last quarter of the tenth century A.D. with the marriage of king Udayana of Bali to Princess Mahendradaṭṭā of East Java. This matrimonial alliance was of great consequences as was to be seen in the thirteenth century, when Kavi language replaced Sanskrit in Bali as the official language.

A section of poets had already begun clearing new pathways. These poets differed from their predecessors in their extensive use of Kavi as the language of their poetry. From now onwards Kavi was to become the language of Javanese literature. Besides, Kavi is also the name loosely applied to the ancient language of Java.

The earliest dated inscription of Kavi letters, the *Plumpungan inscription*, was issued by a king of the Sañjaya dynasty in Central Java in the middle of the eighth century A.D.[2] But it took two hundred years for the Kavi script to emerge in Bali where the earliest written evidence is found in the tenth century in the Sanur inscriptions of king Kesarīvarmadeva.[3] The characters of the Kavi letters is said to have originated from the Pallava script of South India. Most probably Kavi was written firstly on *Lontar* (palm-leaves) and then it was inscribed on stone.

KAVI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

The language of classical Javanese literature was commonly called *Kavi*. It was a language of the learned people. Formerly, Sanskrit was employed in the Balinese and Javanese courts. Sanskrit was also supposed to be a very rich language, but a difficult one. This led to the gradual popularity of Kavi. Thus a new literary language emerged into being as the new Indo-Javanese language. This language comprised of various languages, and at the same time borrowed heavily from Sanskrit. So, Sanskrit became the intermediary phase of Kavi language. Kavi became the standard language of the Hindu-Javanese kingdom, through its employment as the language of the government, administration and scholars.

The earliest evidence of the Kavi language in Java has been found on the stone-inscription collected by the Jakarta Museum. It is dated about 856 A.D.[4] Gradually it became the standard language of literature. Kaḍiri period witnessed tremendous development in the use of Kavi. The Kavi language which was used in this period is characterised as classical or old Kavi. It was precisely this language which rose to prominence in Bali in the eleventh century A.D. following the great royal marriage of Guṇapriyādharmapatnī with Prince Udayana.

Classical Kavi continued to enjoy the status of official language both in Java and Bali till the thirteenth century A.D. Beginning from the last quarter of the thirteenth century, it started acquiring a distinct character. During the reign of Singhasarī and Majapahit kingdoms classical Kavi gave way, under the pressure of various vernacular dialects. Classical Kavi with its preponderance of Sanskrit words evolved into Middle Kavi which was much more localised, because of the infiltration of local and vernacular dialects.

From the fifteenth century onwards the Kavi language underwent another qualitative change, which landed it in its modern phase i..e. New Kavi language. The collapse of the Majapahit kingdom marked a turning point. The rapid Islamisation of Java brought along with it the Arabic, Persian and Malay languages. Middel Kavi got a thorough remoulding under the pressing needs of the period and inducted a number of Persian, Arabic and Malay words. However, New Javanese Kavi, as it came to be known in the following years, was only a Javanese phenomenon. It did not influence the events in Bali, which, unlike Java, did not become a Muslim country. Contrary to it, it became the sole protector of all what was cherished in the Majapahit period. Classics of old Javanese literature found a safe refuge in Bali, where the tradition was not only protected but fostered also. This marked a noteworthy transition, and the post-Majapahit literature of Bali is termed as Balinese-Javanese literature, and the language as Balinese-Javanese Kavi.

Thus we see that the Kavi literature, from its first faltering steps in the ninth century A.D., has come a long way, more than a thousand years to be precise. The literature produced is basically religious in character. The most ancient works have come down largely in the form of epics. The Kavi literature closely follows the rules of Sanskrit Kāvya metre. A lot of Sanskrit Kāvya metres have been successfully used in the *Kakavin* (Poetry).[5] Moreover numerous quotations from the original ślokas of Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas have also been taken. As late as the nineteenth century, it was quite common for a Balinese author to take pride in his or her ability to compose epic poems following rules based on the Sanskrit Kāvya metre. Himansu Bhusan Sarkar says, "Sanskrit authors have given the Indonesian writers the theme of their works, but structurally the two languages belong to two different worlds".[6]

The Epics and Purāṇas have always enjoyed an enviable position in the Kavi literature. It proves a close and continued intercourse, mainly cultural, between India and Indonesia. An overwhelming portion of the Sanskrit literature, composed on palm-leaves, was produced during the Hindu period in Java. The master-pieces of Kavi literature were composed during the period between the tenth century A.D. to the fifteenth century A.D. In these five hundred years Java produced a galaxy of Hindu writers. Learning was greatly patronised and a large number of scholars flourished at the courts. But in the later period, the vigour was lost, because the centre of the Hindu literary activity got shifted from Java to Bali in the sixteenth century A.D. This change was brought due to the sultanete conquest of the Hindu Majapahit empire in East Java. As a result, large groups of the Hindu Javanese royal family members, aristocrats, elites, Brāhmaṇas and others sought refuge in Bali.[7] But this large exodus was not a beggarly crowd. It brought along with it a vast treasure of Sanskrit and Kavi literary works, both classical as well as middle such as the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas and other sacred texts, which greatly influenced the future course of Bali. Bali still continues to be the centre of Indo-Javanese literature. Thus we see that the Kavi literary works which are safely preserved in Bali, today, have a long history behind them. The earliest among these emerged in central Java and it was in the Kadiri period the Kavi literature reached its golden age.

When Islam established itself in India as well as in Indonesia, the replenishing vigour of the Hindu Indian culture in Bali waned, as neither she, nor India, were in a position to refurbish the broken link. In modern Indonesia, Bali is the only island faithful to Hindu culture. The Kavi language is no longer understood in Java and the Hindu Kavi literature has disappeared from this region. But the Hindu Javanese Kavi literary works have been carefully preserved in abundance in Bali till today. Thus Bali became the last resting place of Indo-Javanese culture.

It must be born in mind, however, that while one should not under-estimate the impact of Hinduism while studying Indonesia, particularly Bali, one should not, also at the same time, exaggerate its role. In this context Stutterheim's contention is noteworthy when he claims that just as in Europe, through the stimulus of the Greek and Roman classics, the various people developed their own national cultures, the Balinese, too, created a proper, purely national culture out of Hinduism.

The Hindu Javanese refugees and the ruler of Bali desired to protect the Hindu culture and society as a whole. The hey day of Kavi literature in Bali was achieved during the reign of king Watu Rénggong of Gelgel who ruled Bali about the last quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. He patronised Kavi as the court-language. He was not only a king, but also a scholar and a poet. He loved togather poets, philosophers and religious teachers around him, whom he honoured. King Watu Rénggong encouraged people to write on philosophy, logic, grammar, drama, dance and music and a great many other subjects. This encouragement undoubtedly resulted in an all round development of Kavi literature. It is said that in his time, Gelgel kingdom witnessed the golden-age of the Indo-Balinese culture. The reign of Watu Rēnggong marked the dawn of a new era in the history of Bali.

EPIC POETRY

The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, two of the most celebrated literary as well as religious works produced by the great Indian sages, command great respect in Indonesia. Both these epics belong to the ancient period. Regarding the Rāmāyaṇa, it is generally believed that it attained its present form as early as second century A.D. Mahārṣi Vālmīki, the author of this classic of contemporary world, was called *Ādi-kavi*, because it was he who pioneered the classical Sanskrit metric literature.

The Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa contains seven Kāṇḍas, namely—Bālakāṇḍa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, Āraṇyakakāṇḍa, Kiṣkindhakāṇḍa, Sundarākāṇḍa, Yuddhakāṇḍa and Uttarākāṇḍa. It is noteworthy that the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, the Harivaṅśa and the Purāṇas, as one finds them in Indonesia, are not the translated versions of the Sanskrit counterparts. While acknowledging the unique importance of the Sanskrit works in the development of Kavi literature, it must be stated that the great Indonesian classics are basically creative and original works produced by Indonesian literary figures. These Epics are held to be the most sacred of all the Hindu literature. The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, as already mentioned, are highly popular Epics in Indonesia, which have now become the national property of the entire Hindus as well as Muslims there. These Epics have been flourishing in Indonesia since the tenth century A.D. and are still widely read, studied, paraphrased and sung by the Indonesians, particularly the Balinese.

It is an important point to note that the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas provided the basic inspiration behind the development of Kavi literature. Prof. R.C. Majumdar remarks, "No where else, outside India, has Indian literature been studied with so much advantage and with such important consequences".[8]

I. The Rāmāyaṇa

The Rāmāyaṇa (Kakavin)[9] is one of the most ancient Kavi works of Indonesia. It is an illuminating illustrations of the richness of Kavi language. The best of Kavi is to be found in this work of lasting importance. The Rāmāyaṇa kakavin gave a great impetus to the development of all Kavi literature. It is one of the most excellent piece of poetry written in classical Kakavin. Despite the difference of opinion among the scholars regarding the evaluation of the Rāmāyaṇa, none has denied its unique importance in furthering the cause of Kavi literature.

The evaluation of this epic has always posed a number of problems before the scholars. There are a number of controversies regarding the period of its composition, its parentage and various other details. These controversies still persist and none of the scholars has yet satisfactorily resolved these problems. Basing their opinion on linguistic and metric analysis scholars, like Prof. Poerbatjaraka, suggest that it was composed during the ninth century A.D.[10] Various other scholars, such as Brandes, however, place the complete work about the beginning of the tenth century A.D.[11] According to B.R. Chatterjee, the date is about eleventh century A.D.[12] But according to Kern it was composed in the golden age of Kavi literature in Kadiri about the thirteenth century A.D.[13] It appears that the Epic was compiled between the ninth and tenth century A.D. Most probably it was done during the reign of King Siṇḍok who ruled East Java near about 929-947 A.D.

According to a Balinese tradition, Rājakusuma or Kusumavichitra was the writer of the Rāmāyaṇa (Kakavin). Others contradict it and hold that the popularly known Yogīśvara was the author of this Epic. In this connection it should be pointed out that towards the end of this Epic, Yogīśvara's name does appear. Similarly the scholars hold contradictory views regarding the role of Mahāṛṣi Vālmīki's Sanskrit work being behind the composition of the Rāmāyaṇa (Kakavin). Some of them, basing their opinion particularly on Balakāṇḍa,[14] hold that Vālmīki's work greatly influenced its Kavi counterpart. According to them the figure of Rāma in the Rāmāyaṇa (Kakavin) is exactly the same as Vālmīki pictured him.

Various other scholars deny the role of Mahāṛṣi's work and suggest that it was the Bhattikavya, instead, which influenced the Rāmāyaṇa (Kakavin). This opinion is supported by Prof. Himansu Bhusan Sarkar who says that some of the verses of Rāmāyaṇa (Kakavin) are translations of the ślokas of Bhattikavya.

The Rāmāyaṇa (Kakavin) largely employes a number of Sanskrit Kāvya metres, such as Śārdūla (play of tiger), Aśvalalita (gait of the horse), Bhramara (sportivenes of bees), Sragdharā (a maiden with a garland), Vasantatilakā (decoration of spring), and Āryā. It will be significant to note that all these metres, mentioned above, have also been used in the Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa. Some of the scholars are of the view that before composing the Rāmāyaṇa (Kakavin), Yogīśvara himself visited India on pilgrimage and studied Sanskrit and its grammar and metres there. Yogīśvara was not only a master in the field of Sanskrit versification but also a remarkable artist in the use of Sanskrit rhetorics.[15] Most probably he was the court-poet of king Siṇḍok. He was one of the early Kavi writers.

According to European scholars, the Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa, in India, had developed in three phases. It is said, "the main distribution between the older and the later version of Rama's career is that in the former, Rama is the greater hero, whereas in the later, he is an incarnation of

Viṣṇu. In the third and the latest stage, through which the Rāma tradition has passed, Rāma becomes the Supreme Divinity who has become man for his love of humanity."[16] In modern India, Lord Rāma is recognized as the Supreme Divinity and worshipped as God, whereas in modern Bali, though he is highly respected, he is never worshipped as the Supreme Divinity. The Balinese consider Rāma as the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa, and as the eight incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu. Even Hanumān does not occupy an important place in the Hindu pantheon in Bali. He is simply recognised as the son of mother Anjani and father Vāyu. It indicates that the Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa which was brought to Indonesia had not yet attained its final stage of development, on the basis of which he is known in modern India. Probably the Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa was in its first stage when introduced in Indonesia.

The Rāmāyaṇa (Kakavin) of Yogīśvara is the largest Kavi poem in Indonesia. It is divided into 26 *Sargas* (cantos) and consists of 2774 Ślokas.[17] It is written in Balinese script on palm leaves. The *Prathamāh sarga* consists of 62 Ślokas. It is composed in Sroñcha and Mālinī Kāvya metres. Its 60 verses are in Sroñcha and only two in Mālinī-metres. The first canto begins with the invocation *Avighnam astu*, followed by *Sroñcha*. After that the main story starts. The contents of the pratahmāh sargah reveal some noteworthy similarities with the Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa. The story is given below:[18]

Once upon a time there was a mighty king Daśaratha who ruled over Ayodhyā which was supposed to be even more beautiful than the heaven. King Daśaratha, besides being a learned man, was very loving and affectionate towards his people particularly the Brāhmaṇas and the Āchāryas. King Daśaratha was a powerful king and a number of vassal kings acknowledged his authority. Kaikeyī, Sumitrā and Kausalyā, all of them very charming and beautiful, were his chief queens. Despite all this happiness, there was one thing which distressed him. He was getting old and still he was not blessed with any child. King Daśaratha decided to perform a great yajña in order to obtain divine blessing. King Daśaratha lived happily with his queens.

Ṛṣi Śṛṅgi[19] was one of the most famous sages of his time. He was supposed to have mastered the art of performing almost every type of Yajña. He was just the right sort of person capable of performing a great Yajña. King Daśaratha invited him. When the Yajña was over, Ṛṣi Śṛṅgi and all the Brāhmaṇas along with the common people were treated with lavish feasts and gifts, while the *prasāda* was shared by the queens. After some time all the queens gave birth to sons. Rāma the eldest son of king Daśaratha was born from Kausalyā. Kaikeyī gave birth to Bharata, while Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna were born from Sumitrā. When all the sons of Daśaratha grew up, Mahārśi Vasiṣtha was appointed as their teacher. Besides equipping them with a thorough knowledge of warfare, Vasiṣtha taught them various their subjects.

Once Mahārṣi Viśvāmitra, one of the greatest saints of his time, came to the court of king Daśaratha and requested him to protect his āśrama from the rākṣasas who were becoming a great menace for the hermits. Mahārṣi asked for prince Rāma to be sent to the āśrama in order to put an end to the activities of the rākṣasas. Mahārṣi's request posed a great dilemma before the king. He loved Rāma deeply, and considered him too young to do that job. But at the same time he could not say no to the great saint as it would have been unbecoming on his part. Mahārṣi Viśvāmitra understood king Daśaratha's hesitation and warned him saying that the duty of a truely great and noble king was to protect the hermits. He also reminded the king that it was not a hard task for Rāma to destroy the rākṣasas because he was a very brave youth. King Daśaratha still was afraid that Rāma might be killed by the rākṣasas because he did not have any experience of actual warfare. But Daśaratha had no courage to refuse Mahārṣi Viśvāmitra's request. At last he agreed to send Rāma with Mahārṣi Viśvāmitra. Mahārṣi was greatly pleased and returned to his āśrama. The day after Rāma, accompanied by his brother Lakṣmaṇa, set out for the āśrama. As they were leaving Ayodhyā all the people came out of their homes and gave them a hearty farewell. Royal-drums were beaten and prayers were offered. Their departure made the people of Ayodhyā sad.

II. The Uttarakāṇḍa

Unlike the Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa which consists of seven *Kāṇḍas* including the Uttarakāṇḍa. Rāmāyaṇa (Kakavin) comprises of only six Kāṇḍas. Uttarakāṇḍa (Kakavin) is an altogether separate work. The main plot of this work is based on Vālmīki's[20] Uttarakāṇḍa. However, it is not a translation of the Sanskrit work. It was composed much later than the Rāmāyaṇa (Kakavin). The Uttarakāṇḍa (Kakavin)[21] deals with a very famous episode as follows. On hearing some rumours Rāma became suspicious about the purity of Sītā during her imprisonment in Laṅkā. So, he wanted to banish Sītā into the forests, Mahārṣi Vālmīki took her to his āśrama where after sometime she gave birth to the twins Kuśa and Lava. When Kuśa and Lava grew up, Mahārṣi Vālmīki taught them the Rāma story. The two went to Rāma and recited the story of Rāma. Rāma was very much pleased and asked them to send their mother to Ayodhyā. Sītā was brought to Ayodhyā by Vālmīki who assured Rāma of her purity. However, Sītā was soon after received back by the Goddess Pṛthivī.

Besides the Rāmāyaṇa there are many other reference about Rāma in Kavi works. One such work based on the story of the Rāmāyaṇa, is the Sumanasāntaka (death by means of a summanasa flower). This work bears close resemblance with Kālidāsa's famous Sanskrit work *Raghuvaṁśa*. The Sumanasāntaka was composed in about twelfth century A.D. by Mpu Monaguṇa in East Java.

The Arjunavijaya is another Kavi work related the Rāmāyaṇa. Composed by Mpu Tantular in the twelfth century A.D., it deals with the episode concerning Arjunasahasrabāhu's fight with Rāvaṇa. At last Rāvaṇa was defeated but he was not killed by Arjunasahasrabāhu. According to R.C. Majumdar it was composed in 1378 A.D.[22] The Hariśraya, also taking its plot from the Rāmāyaṇa, deals with the fight between Lord Viṣṇu and Demons. This story was quite popular about the fourteenth century A.D. in the Majapahit kingdom in East Java.

Moreover we have various other works, based on the Rāmāyaṇa (Kakavin), and Uttarakāṇḍa, which were written in a later period such as the Rāmāyaṇa (Gaguritan), the Rāmāyaṇa-tutur lakṣaṇa, the Sumanasāntaka (Kiḍung), the Śatrughna (Kakavin), the Hanūmānwetugaṅgā, the Uttarakāṇḍa (Parikan), the Uttarakāṇḍa (Saḍamṛta), the Meghāntaka (Gaguritan), the Vivida (Vibhuda), the Dharmakusuma, the Rāmaparaśuvijaya and the Tatva-Uttarakāṇḍa.

III. The Mahābhārata

The Mahābhārata is a great Indian work written by Mahāṛsi Vyṣāsa. It assumed its present form probably in the fourth century A.D. The Sanskrit Mahābhārata of Vyāsa consists of eighteen parvas such as: Ādiparva, Sabhāparva, Vaṇaparva, Virāṭaparva, Udyogaparva, Bhiṣmaparva, Droṇaparva, Karṇaparva, Śalyaparva, Sauptikaparva, Strīpalakaparva, Śāntiparva, Anuśāsanaparva, Aśvamedhaparva, Āśramavasikaparva,, Mausalaparava, Mahāprasthānikaparva and Svargārohaṇikaparva.

In Bali, this famous work of Mahāṛṣi Vyāsa is not known as the Mahābhārata, instead it is called the *Aṣthādaśaparva*. Moreover, all the eighteen parvas mentioned above are not to be found in the *Aṣṭdaśaparva*, though the title means eighteen. What we find in the Balinese *Aṣṭadaśaparva* are only the few parvas, namely, Ādiparva, Vaṇaparva, Virāṭaparva, Udyogaparva, Bhīṣmaparva, Åśramavāsaparva, Mausalaparva, Prasthānikaparva[23]· Sabhāparva and Svargārohaṇaparva.[24]

The reason behind the disappearance of the rest of eight parvas is not very clear. Probably in the beginning the Indonesians had the complete Mahābhārata. It seems that the precious treasure of numerous manuscripts composed on *palm-leaves* got destroyed at the time of the fall of the Hindu empire of Majapahit.[25] The Hindus, who sought refuge in Bali, could retrieve only a portion of this intellectual wealth. Thus it can be assumed that the incomplete Sanskrit Mahābhārata consisting of only ten parvas was brought over to Bali.

The Aṣṭadaśaparva in Bali is not a translation of the Sanskrit Mahābhārata. It was composed in Kavi language, and occasionally Sanskrit ślokas were added. The famous Ādiparva, Virāṭaparva, Bhīśmaparva, and Udyogaparva were written in prose or *Wavachan* in the last quarter of the tenth century A.D. under the patronage of King Dharmavaṅśa who ruled over Java. The others were composed later. Thus all the parvas of the Aṣṭadaśaparva were not writen at the same time and by the same author. The Aṣṭadasaparva is the best known work in Kavi literature, second only to the calassical Indonesian Rāmāyaṇa (Kakavin).

Regarding the calassical Indonesian Ādiparva (Wavachan), written in the court of king Dharmavaṅśa, it is not possible to trace the name of the author. Kern believes that it was composed in the beginning of eleventh century A.D.[26]

The Ādiparva is, at present, written in Balinese script on palm-leaves.[27] It begins with the invocation *Avighnam astu* followed with the *Maṅgala* in Sanskrit ślokas. The ślokas are as below:

> "Jayati Parāsarasūnus Satyavatīhṛdaya
> nandano Byāsaḥ pārāṣya sukārthī
> pāthayitvā vāmadākhya sakalajagatām Śivam iti.

Śrotañjaliputa ravayavaṁ Vītabhavān Bhārathākyānam
mṛṣādukta mahābhavatāṁ Vṛṣṇi Kṛṣṇadvaipāyanam idam.
Ḍadyāt suphalajagatādayaḥ paśupatipaṇḍita Kṛṣṇa
jagatvamavitam sarvaślokam pavāyamāṇaḥ
kavim uktah Parāśaryaḥ vivṛttānyeti.
Ādiḥ Sabhā Vana Virāṭa Udyogamākhyam
Bhiṣma Dvijārkasuta Śalya Gadāśva Sopati
Strī Prasthāni Muśala Śāntika tathāṣramañcha
Svargāntam aṣṭadaśaparva niruktasaṁkhyam.

According to the scholars, the Vandanā in the Introduction of Ādiparva, as it appears in the *aṣṭadaśaparva*, particularly in the second stanza, is not from the original Sanskrit Mahābhārata of Vyāsa. It has been taken from the opening lines of a drama, the Veṇī-saṁhāra of Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa.[29]

The classical Indonesian Ādiparva opens with a detailed description of the creation of the universe and all its inhabitants as a result of the sacred union of Lord Śiva and his consort Pārvatī which took place at mount Kailāśa. After that the author praises and honours his patron king Dharmavaṅśateguhanantavikramoṭṭuṅgadeva. It is said that the Ādiparva was written on the king's orders.

The story of Ādiparva can be broadly divided into fifteen chapters. The first chapter deals with the story of Bhagavān Śonaka (Skt: Śaunaka) who performed Yajña in the Naimiṣ -forest for twelve years. The Yajña was also attended by Ugraśrava (Skt: Ugraśrvas). He was the son of Lomaharṣana (Skt: Lomaharṣa). Ugraśrava knew well about the Brāhmāṇḍa Purāṇa and Aṣṭadaśaparva which were tought to him by Mahāṛṣi Vyāsa. Ugraśrava narrates the story of the Samantapañchaka lake, where Rāmaparaśu (Skt: Paraśurāma) fought with Arjunasahasrabāhu. And then the story continues with the summaries of the eighteen Parvas of the Mahābhārata, and the great war of Pāṇḍavas and Koravas (Skt: Kaurava) fought in the battle-field of Kurukṣetra. In this great war, Bhīṣma commanded the Korava forces for the first ten days. When Bhīṣma was killed by Arjuna with the help of Śikhandī, Droṇa took over the command and led the Korava forces for next five days. He was defeated by Dhṛṣṭadyumna, the Pāṇḍava Śenāpati. Then Karṇa became the Senāpati for two days. He was killed by Arjuna. Śalya was the next Senāpati from theKorava's side,but his command lasted only for twelves hours. He was killed by Yudhiṣṭhira. Duryodhana was the last Senāpati of Korvas and was killed by Bhīma.

In the second chapter Ugraśrava narrates the story of Ṛṣi Śrutasena who performed the Yajña for Mahārāja Janamejaya. During the course of the Yājña a dog named Sārameya was beaten by Śrutasena without any reason. Saramā, the dog's mother, got angry and cursed Mahārāja Janamejaya. Janamejaya tried to find out some capable Brāhmaṇa who could help him to mitigate the effects of the curse. He found Ṛṣi Somaśrava and appointed him his Purohita. After that Mahārāja Janamejaya conquered Takṣilā (Skt: Takṣaśila).

In the third chapter Ugraśrava continues his story with *Poşyacharita* (Skt: Pauşyacharita). It is said that once Bhagaván Dhomya (Skt: Dhaumya) wanted to test his disciples, Āruṇika (Skt: Āruṇi), Uttamanyu and Veda. Āruṇika was asked to work in a rice-field. The rice-field was full of water and from one of the corners the water was gushing out with great speed carrying the soil with it. Āruṇika tried to stop it again and again, but failed. At last he himself lied down to block the water. Due to this, Āruṇika was given the name Uddālaka. Besides he was also given a mantra by reciting which he could fulfil any of his desires. Uttamanyu was given a much more difficult task. He was asked to work as a cowherd. He was not supposed to bag while tending the cows. Moreover he was also not allowed to drink the milk of the cows, not even the foam which remained on the mouth of the calf. One day feeling thirsty he drunk the Viduri-sap which made him blind, As a result he fell down into a dry-well. Afterwards as a reward for his obedience, Uttamanyu was awarded the *Devabhisak* mantras, which could cure his blindness. He was blessed with eternal youth also. The last to be examined was Veda. He was asked to prepare food and serve it to Ṛṣi Dhomya. He obeyed the orders given to him by his teacher. He was also given a mantra. This is followed by a description of the incident wherein Uttaṅka a disciple of Veda is asked by his Guru's wife to obtain Kuṇḍala from Sāvitri, the queen of Mahārāja Poşya (Skt: Pauşya) of Ayodhyā. This earand put Uttaṅka in a number of trouble caused particularly by Nāga Takşaka.

In the fourth chapter Ṛṣi Śonaka (Skt: Śaunaká) asked Ugraśrava to continue with his story. Ugraśrava goes on to narrate the story of Bhagavān Bhṛgu, the son of Bhaṭṭāra Brahmā, who married Pulomā. When she was pregnant. Rākşasa Dulomā (Skt: Pulomā) approached him and claimed that formerly she was his wife. This made Pulomā furious and the intensity of her anger resulted in the immediate birth of her child. No sooner was the child born it grew up and killed rākşasa Dulomā. Bhagavān Bhṛgu cursed god Agni because he had been a false witness against Pulomā. Then Ugraśrava tells the story of Ruru who married Pramathanā (Skt: Pramadvarā). Unfortunately she was bitten by a snake. Ruru bartered his soul, and half of it had to be forsaken to retrieve her from the clutches of death.

The fifth chapter is a description of the stories of Āṣṭika, Garuḍa and churning of *Kşirārnāva* (Skt: Kśīrasāgara). Āṣṭika, had saved the Nāgas, particularly Nāga Takşaka from the Sarpayajña. The sixth chapter deals with the Nāgas who had been cursed by their mother, Kadrū. So, they tried to find a way out to mitigate the curse. Ailāpata (Skt: Airāvata) the youngest son of Kadrū new the device to avoid this curse.

In the seventh chapter Ugraśrava narrates the story of Parīkṣit. Parīkṣit was the son of Abhimanyu and Uttarī (Skt: Uttarā). He was the king of Hastināpura and ruled the country for about sixty years. Once he has bitten by Nāga Takşaka which led to his death. He was succeeded by Janamejaya who ascended the throne. In order to avenge his father's death Janamejaya performed a Sarpayajña. However, pleased with the conduct of Āṣṭika who mediated on behalf of the Nāgas, Janamejaya abandoned the idea of Sarpayajña. So the Sarpayajña was not completed and Nāga Takşaka was saved.

The eighth chapter deals with an account of the ancestors of both the Pāṇḍavas and the Koravas. The story was narrated by Vaiśampāyana on the request of Mahārāja Janamejaya. The ninth chapter describes the story of Śakuntalā. Vaiśampāyana tells Mahārāja Janamejaya that Śakuntalā; the daughter of Ṛṣi Kaṇva, married Duṣvanta (Skt: Duṣyanta) and gave birth to a son name was Bhārata.

In the tenth chapter Mahārāja Janamejaya asks Vaiśampāyana to narrate the history of Somavaṅśa. The history starts with king Soma who was the son of Dharma. He married Rohiṇī and had two sons from her, namely Vaivasvata Manu and Ikṣvāku. Mahārāja Yayāti married Devayānī, the daughter of Ṛṣi Śukra. She bore him two sons, Yadu and Turvasa (Skt: Turvasu). Yayāti married Śarmiṣṭhā also, who was a servant of Devayānī. She gave birth to three sons viz. Druhsyu (Skt: Druhyu), Anu (Skt: Anudruhyu) and Pūru. Yayāti's marriage with Śarmiṣṭhā infuriated Mahāṛṣi Śukra, the father of Devayānī, who cursed him violently. Because of this curse Mahārāja Yayāti lost his youth and immediately became old. He was succeeded by his youngest son Pūru. The eleventh chapter narrates the story of Pūruvaṅśa. The twelfth chapter deals with the story of God Yama and Ṛṣi Animāṇḍaya. Cursed by a Brāhmaṇa, God Yama had to take birth as Vidūra. This chapter carries an account of the incident wherein Kuntī is blessed with the *Ādityahṛdaya mantra* by Ṛṣi Durvāsa. Pāṇḍu's marriage with Kuntī and Mādrī is also narrated.

In the thirteenth chapter Mahārāja Janamejaya requests Vaiśampāyana to narrate the story of the five Pāṇḍavas and the hundred Koravas (Skt: Kauravas). This chapter contains a number of episodes connected with Droṇa, Kaṛna, Drupada and Bhīma. The fourteenth chapter describes the Pāṇḍavas' participation in the Svayamvara of Drupadī (Skt: Draupadī) at Pañchala. It narrates the partition of kingdom of Haṣṭināpura. Haṣṭināpura was given to the Koravas, while the Pāṇḍavas got Khāṇḍavaprastha. The fifteenth chapter deals with an account of the Pāṇḍavas in Indraprastha that they built. It narrates many episodes connected with Arjuna. The birth of Abhimanyu and Pañchakumāra is also described. The chapter ends with the burning of the Khāndava forest.

The classical Indonesian Sabhāparva, another work based on the Sanskrit Mahābhārata story, was probably composed during the reign of king Dharmavanśa of Kaḍiri. Unfortunately the author of the classical Indonesian Sabháparva is not known. It was written in prose. The story of the classical Indonesian Sabhāparva mainly deals with the episode where the Pāṇḍavas gambled with the Koravas.

The classical Indonesian Virāṭaparva, also based on the Sanskrit Mahābhārata, does not carry the name of its author but it bears the year 996 A.D.[30] It also mentions the name of the ruler of Kaḍiri, king Dharmavaṅśa. It is a prose work. It deals with Pāṇḍavas in exile for twelve years. After that period the Pāṇḍavas disguised themselves and stayed for a year in Virāṭa. The eldest of them Yudhiṣṭhira disguised himself as a Brāhmaṇa and had the name of Dvijakaṅka (Skt: Kaṅka). Bhīma became a cook in the royal palace and was known by the name of Ballava (Skt: Vallava). Arjuna impersonated as an eunuch and found the job of teaching dance and songs. Nakula and Sahadeva succeeded in getting jobs at the royal palace. Nakula looked after the horses, while Sahadeva became a cowherd. Drupadī (Skt: Darupadī), their wife, became the attendant of queen of Virāṭa. She was called Śailindrī (Skt: Śairandhrī). Two of the important incidents described in the Virāṭaparva deal with Kīchaka's murder and Abhimanyu's marriage to Uttarī (Skt: Uttarā).

The classical Indonesian Udyogaparva, dealing with episodes from the Sanskrit Mahābhārata, was composed in the form of prose (Wavachan) work. Unfortunately we do not know the name of the author and also the name of the king who patronised the author. Most probably it was written in Kaḍiri period.

The classical Indonesian Bhīṣmaparva, based on the Sanskrit Mahābhārata, was als composed in Kaḍiri period. It, too, does not mention either the name of the author, or that o the king who patronised the author. The Bhīṣmaparva has quoted some of the Sanskri Bhagavatgitā's ślokas.

The classical Indonesian Āśramavāsaparva, a prose work, deals with the aftermath of th great war of Mahābhārata, when Dhṛtarāṣṭra was once again crowned as the king. Bhīma wa very much distressed with this event. The Āśramavásaparva ends with Dhṛtarāstra, Gandharī, Kuntī and Sañjaya going to the forests, where they die after sometime. We do not know as to who wrote this beautiful work. Nor do we know about the king under whose reign this work was composed.

Another work of the Aṣṭadaśaparva, the classical Indonesian Mośalaparva (Skt: Mauśalaparva) was probably written in Kaḍiri period in the form of a prose work. It does not bear the name of the author. Its story narrates the destruction of the Yadu race, and also the incident where Dvarāvatī is engulfed by the sea. The incidents, which followed Parikṣit's coronation as the king of Haṣṭināpura, have been narrated in the classical Indonesian Praṣṭhanikaparva. The Pāṇḍavas leave the city and go to the woods to do penance. On their way to the Himalayas, one by one, all of them, except Yudhiṣṭhira, embrace death. Drupadī (Skt: Draupadī) is the first to fall, followed by Sahadeva, Nakula, Arjuna and Bhīma, in that order. In the end Yudhiṣṭhira goes to heaven and is accompanied by a dog. Unfortunately we do not know the name of its author.

The classical Indonesian Svargarohaṇaparva, wherein Yudhiṣṭhira's visit to heaven has been described, is another work of the Aṣṭadaśaparva. It is a prose work and does not bear the name of its author. The story runs as follows:

While in heaven Yudhiṣṭhira comes to know that his brothers had been put in the hell whereas Duryodhana and other Koravas (Skt: Kauravas) were in the heaven. Yudhiṣṭhira felt disgusted with it and wished for hell where he would be able to stay with his brothers. It compelled the gods to come down to the hell and fetch Yudhiṣṭhira and all the Pāṇḍavas to heaven. Yudhiṣṭhira is told by the gods that the Pāṇḍavas were put in the hell as they had fought and killed their Gurus in the war.

Another important work in Kavi based on the Aṣṭadaśaparva is the Arjuna-vivāha, an account of Arjuna's marriage with Suprabhā. It was written in classical Kavi by Mpu Kaṇva in the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D.[31] He was the court-poet of king Airlangga who ruled East Java in about 1019 A.D. The Arjuna-vivāha is, at present, written in Balinese script on palm-leaves.[32]

The Bhāratayuddha (Kakavin) was composed by Mpu Seḍah in 1157 A.D.[33] Mpu Seḍah was the court-poet of king Jayabhaya who ruled Kaḍiri kingdom in East Java in about 1157 A.D. King Jayabhaya pursued and patronised learning. The Bhāratayuddha (Kakavin) was left unfinished by Mpu Seḍah. This work was completed by his worthy friend Mpu Panuluh, who wrote the Harivaṅśa also. Another famous work Kṛṣṇāyana was composed by Mpu Triguṇa in the twelfth century A.D.[34] He was a court-poet of king Jayavarsaśāstraprabhu.[35] The main story of the Kṛṣṇāyana deals with the abduction of Rūkmiṇi by Kṛṣṇa. While abducting Rūkmiṇi, Kṛṣṇa had to fight with Jarāsandha, Rūkma and Śiśupāla.

The Gaṭotkachāśraya is another work based on an episode from the Aṣṭadaśaparva. It was written in the middle of the twelfth century A.D.[36] Unfortunately the author of Gaṭotkachāśraya is unknown. Another important work in Kavi based on the story of Aṣṭadaśaparva is the Bhomakāvya (i.e. Bhauma Kavya). It, too, appears to have been written in the middle of the twelfth century A.D.[37] The author of Bhomakāvya was Mpu Bradah Bauddha. According to the Bhomakavya, Bhauma waged war against god Indra and defeated him. Bhauma was the son of Pṛthvī and Lord Viṣṇu. Ultimately he was killed by Kṛṣṇa.

The Aṣṭadaśaparva has been one of the greatest classics of Indonesia. Besides being widely popular it has also been a source of great inspiration for a number of Kavi works based on different episodes narrated in it. Some of these are the Kauravāśrama, the Droṇaparva, the Karṇaparva, the Śalyaparva, the Kālayavanāntaka, the Kṛṣṇavijaya, the Rāmavijaya, the Pārthayajña, the Arjunapramada, the Parikṣit (Kakavin), the Bhāratayuddha (Parikan) and the Arjunavijaya (Parikan). The eighteenth and ninteenth century witnessed a number of Balinese-Javanese Kavi works being composed in Bali. The Aṣṭadaśaparva once again provided stories for majority of these works which are the Bhīmasvargā, the Pūrva Sānghāra, the Pāṇḍu-Kénéng-śāpa, the Daśa Pāṇḍava, the Virāṭavijaya, the Garuḍa, the Indravijaya, the Vrtāntaka, the Nahuṣa-prajaya, the Indrabandhana, the Narakavijaya, the Kāṇḍhavavanadahana, the Hidimbīvichitra, the Viśālāgni, the Ambāśraya, the Irāvāntaka, the Vachanabhairava, the Arjunapramāda, the Vindusāra, the (N)avaruchi, the Satyavān, the Jayaprамēya, the Kuntīyajña, the Chandra-bhairava and the Gu(h)vāgala-gala.

Curiously a minor stream of literature composed in the old Javanese language kept on flowing in Bali as late as the sixteenth century A.D. The Parthayajña, the Kalayavanāntaka, the Kṛṣṇavijaya, the Kṛṣṇāntaka, the Ratnavijaya, the Vighnotsava, the Bhāratāśrāya, the Subhadrāvivāha, the Abhimanyuvivāha, the Kṛṣṇāndhaka and the Kṛṣṇakalāntaka all composed in Kakavin are illustrations of this particular stream of literature.

The Aṣṭadaśaparva has inspired later writers not only to write in prose and in Kakavin language but also in native metres (rythms) like the Gaguritan and the Parikan (the Quartrains). Some of these works based on episodes from the famous classic Aṣṭadaśaparva are the Arjunavivāha (Gaguritan) and Arjunavivāha (Parikan). Other works based on the story of the Mahābhārata worth mentioning are: the Subhadrāvivāha, Śalya (Gaguritan), Sāmbha, Ekalavya, Navaruchi, Sang Garuḍa-nébusbiyang, Sumantri, Suddhamala, Kechaka (gaguritan), Tégésing-kakavin-Bhāratayuddha, Bhīmaśakti, Bhīmasvarga, Bhīma (Prasi), Kāpiparva, Pāṇḍukeneng-sapa (Parikan).[38] Most of these works were written in middle Kavi language and Balinese Kavi language.

PURĀṆA

The Sanskrit Purāṇas, which are also called the *Mahāpurāṇas*, are eighteen in number, namely the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, the Padmapurāṇa, the Viṣṇupurāṇa, the Śivapurāṇa, the Bhāgavatapurāṇa, the Nāradīyapurāṇa, the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, the Agnipurāṇa, the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa, the Brahmāvaivartapurāṇa, the Liṅgapurāṇa, the Varāhapurāṇa, the Skandapurāṇa, the Vāmanapurāṇa, the Kūrmapurāṇa, the Matsyapurāṇa the Garuḍapurāṇa and the Brahmapurāṇa.[39] Besides the Mahāpurāṇas there are eighteen *Upapurāṇas* also.

The five chief characteristic features of a Purāṇa, as mentioned in Viṣṇupurāṇa are: *sargah* evolution of universe), *pratisargah* (recreation of universe), *vaṇśa* (genealogy of kings), *manvantara* (cosmic cycle), and *Vaṅsanucharita* (history of ruling dynasties).[40] It runs as follows:

> Sargaścha pratisargaścha
> Vaṇśo manvantarani cha
> Vaṁśanucharitam divyāh
> puṇyāh prāsiṇgikīh kathah.[41]

Unfortunately out of the eighteen Purānas only one has been preserved in Bali. It is the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa written on palm-leaves in Balinese script. The Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa occupies an important place in the history of Kavi literature. It closely follows the Sanskrit Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa. Most probably it was composed in about tenth century A.D.[42] in Java. But the author of the Kavi Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa (Vavāchan) is unknown. It was written in classical Kavi language, and occasionally interspersed with Sanskrit ślokas. It deals with the theological and philosophical episodes. There are two versions of the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa in Bali. One is the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa-Kakavin (poetry), and the other is the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa-Vavachan (prose). The Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa-Kakavin was composed by Mpu Aṣṭaguṇa in the twelfth century A.D.[43]

Though only the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa is available in Bali, yet, it seems, a great many number of works were composed on the basis of the Purāṇic stories. However it is an extremely arduous task to trace the lineage of all such works because of the enormity of the Purāṇic literature. This leads us to think that probably, despite the physical absence of the Purāṇas, were known to the ancient people of Bali, and this knowledge was orally transfered from one generation to the other.

Our argument is strengthened by works such as the Kalayavanāntaka (kakavin), the Kṛṣṇavijaya, the Kṛṣṇāntaka, the Kṛṣṇa-kalānataka and the Kṛṣṇāndhaka written in old Javanese language. They were composed in Bali in the sixteenth century A.D. All these works deal with episodes from Kṛṣṇa's life. It is curious that even though the Aṣṭadaśaparva and the Sanskrit Mahābhārata do not mention these episodes related with Kṛṣṇa's life, it so happens that works like the Kṛṣṇāndhaka and the like were composed in Bali. On the contrary, these episodes are only to be found in the Sanskrit Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa, the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa in India. Moreover, there was virtually no link between Bali (Indonesia) and India in the sixteenth century A.D. Thus, it becomes quite obvious that the Purāṇic stories were known among the ancient Indonesian, at least orally.

The Agastyaparva is one such work about which we can be sure that it was taken from the Purāṇas. Composed in the tenth century A.D.[44], it deals with a discourse between Ṛṣi Agastya and his son Dṛdhasyu regarding the creation of the World.[45]

It seems that the Smaradāhana (Kakavin), too, was inspired by the Purāṇic stories. It was composed in the reign of king Kāmeśvara who ruled Kaḍiri (East Java).[46] King Kāmeśvara was fond of literature and seems to have patronised learning. The Smaradāhana (Kakavin) was composed by Mpu Dharmaja in the classical Kavi language.[47] In his work, Mpu Dharmaja praises king Kāmeśvara as the incarnation of god Kāma or god Smara. This work deals with the story of god Kāma who goes to disturb the penance of Lord Śiva. But some scholars suggest that the Smaradāhana-Kakavin is based on the Kumārasambhava of Kālidāsa.[48]

The Lubhdaka (Kakavin) or Śivaratri-kalpa also borrowed its plot from the Puranic stories. The Lubhdaka (Kakavin) was composed around the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. Its author is unknown. This work was produced under the patronage of king Angrok who ruled Siṅhasarī in East Java. The Lubhdaka (Kakavin) describes Lubhdaka as a notorious hunter. After his death he was granted heaven by Lord Śiva, because once Lubhdaka had practiced yoga and offered vilva-leaves to Lord Śiva.

The Tantu-Panggelaran was written in middle kavi language. According to Dr. Th. Pigeaud the Tantu Panggelaran was composed in the sixteenth century A.D.[49] It deals with the cosmogony and mythology of Java and Bali.

WORKS IN TAṆTRA, ETHICS AND PHILOSOPHY

Tantras represent a later phase of the Puranic religion. It is divided into three classes, viz. Śaiva, Śakta and Vaiṣṇava. Among the famous Sanskrit Tantric works are the Rudrayāmala, the Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa, the Sadhanamala, the Kālikā, the Mūlanirvāna and the Kulārṇava. Besides Hindu Tantric texts, there are Buddhist and Jain Tantric texts also. All these works, it seems, greatly inspired the ancient Indonesian authors and philosophers. Both Hindu and

Buddhist writers there composed numerous works on the Tantras. Among the Indonesian works, dealing with the Tantras, written in Kavi, special mention can be made of the Sang Hyang Kamahāyanikan (Buddhist Tantras), the Chalonarang (Hindu Tantras), the Śud(dha)mala, the Śrī Tañjung, the Wargasāri, the Navaruchi, the Subrata, the Sang Satyavān, the Bhīmasvarga, the Bhīmabungkus, the Pūrva-sanghara, the Wangbang Astuti, the Paṇḍu-Kéneng Sapa, the Daśa Pāṇḍava, the Nava Kāṇḍa, the Kaputusan-Kadyatmikan and the Buddha-kachapi.

The Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan was composed in the ninth or tenth century A.D. in prose form in the classical Kavi language. The author of the Lontar (text) is unknown. The Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan mainly deals with the instructions of the Tantric Mahāyana. It is written in Balinese script on palm leaves.[50]

The Chalonarang was composed in prose in the middle Kavi language. Its author, too, is unknown. Lontar Chalonarang is written in Balinese script on plam-leaves.[51] It mentions the story of a widow Chalonarang who possessed knowledge of Tantric black magic. Once she along with her disciples started destroying the people of Kaḍiri by spreading epidemic. Many people of Kaḍiri died due to Chalonarang's balck magic. Ultimately she was killed by the order of king Airlangga.

Besides the Tantric texts, a number of works dealing with ethics and philosophy were also produced. The Kuñjara-karṇa, the Bukbukṣah, the Puruṣada-santa, the Sārasamuchchaya, the Ślokāntara, the Raṇayajña and the Vidhiśāstra are the works which fall under this category. The Sārasamuchachhaya is an exposition on ethics, and it lays down a code of conduct to be followed by the Chaturvarṇa. It is one of the holy books of Bali. In this book, some of the important verses from the lost Parvas have been found. The Sārasamuchchaya was composed by Vararuchi in the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. The Sārasamuchchhaya is a collection of 517 Sanskrit ślokas followed with translation and explanation in classical Kavi language.[52] It is written in Balinese script. The ślokas of Sārasamuchchhaya are mostly from the Śanskrit Mahābhārata. It mentions the duties of Chatūrvarṇa and the importançe of Dharma. Prof. Raghuvira remarks, "The Sārasamuchchhaya is so far the biggest contribution to Māhābhārata's textual testimonial from outside India. Even the abridged versions of the Mahābhārata that have come down to us in Indonesia are not so prolific in their quotations".[53]

The Bhuavana-saṇkṣepa, the Tutur Sang Hyang Mahājñana, the Ṛṣi-śāsana, the Putruśāji, the Bhuvanakośa, or the Jñānasiddhānta, the Gaṇapatitattva, the Vratiśāsana, the Ślokāntara, the Vṛhaspatitatva, the Saptabhuvana, the Chaturyuga-Vidhisastra and the Brahmokta Vidhi śāstra are notable works on ethics and philosophy. All these works make abundant use of Sanskrit ślokas followed with Kavi translation.

At a later stage, some other works were produced which stand apart because of the absence of the Sanskrit ślokas. We may mention the Tutur-kamokṣan, the Kaṇḍa-mpat, the Tattva-jñana (Kakavin), the Īśvara-uvacha-Gaṇapati-matakwan, the Tutur Sapta Bhuvana, the Tutur Sabda Praliṇa, the Tutur Amṛta Kundalina, the Tutur Mūla-dara, the Sangyoga Dharaṇa, the Kalpa

Buddha, the Pañcha Tathagata, the Tutur Bāyu-Sabda-Idép, the Nirmalajñāna, the Atmarakṣa, the Kumāratatva, the Pañchamahābhūta, the Payogan Bhaṭṭāra Guru, the Payogan ira Sang Sādhaka, the Śarīra Veda, the Uttara Sabda Aṛta, the Saṅgraha Kaling, the Māyā Sāndhi, the Īśvara uvacha, the Chatūr Pakṣopadeśa, the Mahāratna, the Aji Sarasvatī, the Rāja Péni, the Sapta māyā Sarūpa, the Amṛta Kundalini, the Saptah-praṇava, the Aṣṭa-liṅgga, the Sivatatva, the Ātma-prasangsa, the Ardha-Smara and the Pūrvaka-bhūmi which come under this category. The Tutur or Upadeśa deal mostly with philosophical, metaphysical, religious and ethical lessons.

STOTRA LITERATURE (DOCTRINAL WRITING)

Among the Sanskrit Purāṇas, the Viṣṇupurāṇa, the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, the Padmapurāṇa, the Skandapurāṇa, the Bhāgavatapurāṇa, the Brahmāvaivartapurāṇa and the Devī-bhāgavatapurāṇa may be mentioned as the store-house of śtotras. The Tantras such as Prapañcha-sāra, Rudrāyamala, Viśvasāra, Śāradātilaka, Mahānirvāṇatantra and Tantrasāra also contain śtotras. In this connection we can also name some sectarian Upaniśads such as the Nārāyaṇopaniśad, the Kaivalya and the Gopālatapani.

These religious poems have greatly influenced the Balinese life. Most of the Balinese śtotras, although derived from the Indian Tantras and the Purāṇas, however, had been originally composed in Bali and Java. It is said that some of the Balinese śtotras are excellent specimens. Sylvain Levi says, "It deserves to be classic, even in India".[54] The Balinese śtotras and hymns were composed in different languages, like pure Sanskrit, Kavi and a mixed language. A Balinese pure Sanskrit śloka run as below:

> "Sarasvatī namastubhyam
> Varade Kamarupini,
> Siddharambham kariśyami
> Siddhirbhavatu me sadā"[55]

While a Kavi mantra runs as such:

> "Om sakwéhing Bhūta namarik,
> praṇaśakti ya namah.
> Om sakwéh ing Bhūta kabéh
> bhūta aṅ añja bhūta anglalawang
> bhūta papéténg bhūta anahasa."

There are a large number of hymns which are called the Vedas by the Balinese. These are generally known as Chatūr-Vedas and are known in Bali since ancient times. The Śrutis which are recited in Bali are Ṛig, Yajur, Sāma and Atharva. All the Chatūr Veda-śiras and the other mantras are generally sung in the Śruti metres, but not recited.

Another popular mantra, in Bali, is the Veda-parikramasārasaṁhītākraṇa. It is used only for daily worship by the High Priest, while the Pūjāvṛttivālaka is used for the daily worship of the twice-born. Some of the best known Sanskrit ślokas are the Durgā-Stuti, the Rudra kavacha, the Kuntīyajña, the Dvijendra, the Astava-mantra, the Bhīma Śakti, the Aji Chanḍra Bhairava, the Paśupatimantra, the Janmarahaṣya and the Ādityahṛdaya.

Other śtotras, also used in Bali, are the Pūjā-Parikrama, the Sūrya-Sevana, the Aṣṭi-wedanā, the Petra Pūjā, the Rāja-Sangharabhūmi, the Vdhiśāstra, the Pūjā Pañcha-wali-krama, the Pūjā Kṣatriya, the Kauravaprāsāda, the Sūrya-maṇḍala, the Svamaṇḍala, the Yamatatwa, the Buddha-weda and the Ādi Purāṇa.

KIDUNG, KAKAVIN AND WAVACHAN

Kavi writers composed their works in the form of Kakavin (poetry) as well as Wavachan (prose). Besides these two forms, there are some works in Kidung also. Kidung is the new literary genre which was adopted by the poets in the post-Majapahit period. It was a peculiar phenomenon in the history of Kavi literature that the language of Kidung happened to be very different from that of Kakavin. Unlike the Kakavin where the content is vernacular but the metre Sanskritised, here, in Kidung, both the content as well as the metre were vernacular. Kidung was particularly composed in middle Kavi language and Balinese Kavi language.

One of the famous Kakavin writers of the fourteenth century was Mpu Tantular, the court poet of king Hayam Wuruk who ruled over the entire Indonesian archipelago.

His reign witnessed the creation of some of the best pieces of literature. Mpu Tantular produced his outstanding work, the Sutasoma[56] (Kakavin). Its story deals with Sutasoma (a Bodhisattva), who was the son of Mahārāja Mahāketu of Hastinapuri.[57] Here, it will be interesting to note that Mpu Tantular was a fore-runner of the Śiva-Buddha movement. His poetical efforts were directed towards the intermingling of the Brāhmanic and the Buddhist faith of Hinduism. His poetical temperament brought him more and more close to the Buddhist doctrines. Through his poetical works he tried to teach the masses that Buddhist and Brāhmaṇic faiths were essentially one single religion.

The Sutasoma, later on, served as a model for a number of works composed in Kidung as well as Wavachan. Some of the literary works based on the story of the Sutasoma, produced in this period were Sutasoma (Parikan), Sutasoma (Prasi) and Purusadānta.

The Siṅhalaṅala is an excellent work in Wavachan (prose) composed a little earlier than the Sutasoma. It was based on a Kakavin work of the same title produced in the twelveth century A.D. Unfortunately, no one knows about the author of this remarkable work. It is a work written in classical Kavi and its main plot deals with the war fought between Kāmarūpinī, a Buddhist queen and a Brāhmaṇic king. This war was a prolonged affair and no one could be defeated as both the sides matched each other.

The Siṅhalaṅala is evidently a Buddhist work and seems to convey a symbolic unity between Brāhmaṇic and Buddhist doctrines. This symbolic message is conveyed by the perfect match between the two armies fighting each other. Such a theme was quite natural in an age when the Buddhist organisation was on the decline. The Buddhists were obviously interested in advocating the oneness of Buddhist and Śaiva doctrines.

TANTRĪS OR FABLES

The origin of the Kavi fable-literature must be traced back to the Indian literature. It reminds us of stories from the Saṇskrit Pañchatantra. The Tantrī-Kāmaṇḍaka, Maṇḍuka Prakaraṇa, and Rājavināṣa, however, contain many stories which are not found in the Sanskrit fables.

The fable-stories are traditionally narrated by a female character in Bali called Tantrī. Consequently this term became synonymous with fables, which began to be known as Tantris. The Tantrī-Kāmaṇḍaka (Kakavin)[58] written in classical Kavi language is one of the most famous fable stories of Bali. This particular work deals with Dyah Tantrī, the daughter of Bandheśvarya, the prime-minister of Pāṭalīputra (Pāṭalīnagantuṅ). According to the fable the king Aiśvaryaḍala of Pāṭalīputra was an extremely promiscuous man, who required a new wife every night. It was a hard task for the prime-minister to arrange a new girl every night. Once, seeing her father in trouble, Dyah Tantrī offered herself to the king. This lady was extraordinarily intelligent and every night she narrated a new story to the king. This trick on her part beguiled the king who never thought of marrying or having sexual intercourse with other girls afterwards. Some of the Tantrī works in various linguistic forms worth mentioning are Tantrī Kakavin, Tantri Baluan, Tantri Kidung, Sorandaka Kidung, Tantrī Prasi and Tantrī Parikan

KĀṆDA OR GRAMMAR

The Grammar in Bali, constitutes one of the most important branches of literature. This was particularly so in ancient Indonesia where the earliest work on grammar was composed as early as the ninth century. This work titled the Amaramālā, written in classical Kavi language, was composed in the reign of king Jītendra of Central Java. According to some scholars the Amaramālā was translated from the Sanskrit Amarakośa of Amarasinha.[59]

Another important work, the Vṛtasañchaya was written by Mpu Tanakung in the reign of king Kāmeśvara in Kaḍiri. This work formulates some of the basic postulates regarding the composition and reading of good poems. Apart from the Vṛtasañchaya, some of the early works on the grammar are the Svaravyañjanā, the Kṛta-bhāṣā, the Ādisvara, the Thitikalavya, the Kārakas, the Saṅgraha, the Akṣara and the Kavijānaki. The last among these is particularly worth mentioning as it adopts a novel method for describing the laws of grammar. In this work, the author illustrates the rules with the help of episodes from Rāma's life. It is a very simple work written in easily understandable Sanskrit with explanations in the classical Kavi language.

Besides the above mentioned works on grammar and dictionary, a notable contribution was made with the writing of two encyclopaedea, namely the Chantaka-parva and the Chaṇḍa-kiraṇa, both composed in the classical Kavi language.

Later on many works on grammar were composed such as the Kārakas, the Chhaṇḍakrana, the Vyañjanāsaṇḍhi, the Chhaṇḍavargakarana, the Svaravyañjanā (Gaguritan), the Chaṇḍa-aji-chanda, the Krakah-panini, the Chandakrana (Kakavin), the Kṛta bhāṣā, the Guru-laghu, and the Guru-lagu (Kakavin).[60]

MEDICAL LITERATURE

Like most of the other fields of study, the inspiration for composing books on medicine, too, probably came from India, where it was an important subject of study in the ancient times. The Nālandā University, in particular, was a famous seat of learning, which attracted many students who came from abroad to study in this University. Indonesian students also came to study here. The Charaka-saṁhitā, the Suśruta-saṁhitā, and Āṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha were widely studied in this University. The Charaka-saṁhitā was said to be composed at the end of the second century A.D.[61]

The old Javanese term for collection and notes on medicine was Oṣadha (Skt: Auṣadha). This term is still widely used in modern Bali. Although there are a number of ancient works on medicine which have been preserved, yet most of the Oṣadha literature, composed in Kavi language, lacks a full-fledged system. It is a mere manual of recipes and prescriptions. Most probably the Oṣadha literature was written during the post-Majapahit period. Many works bear the title with the term Oṣadha, like Oṣadha-rare, Oṣadha-sapara, Oṣadha-sari, Oṣadha-kurantabolong, Oṣadha-babai, Oṣadha-śivasampūrṇa, Oṣadha-tantrī, Oṣadha-tiwang, Oṣadha-tuju, Oṣadha-viṣṇujapa, Oṣadha-putih, Oṣadha-upās, Oṣadha-mānāk, Oṣādha-mṛchukuṇḍa, Oṣadha-kuda, Oṣadha-kaliṅga, Oṣadha-dharma, Oṣadha-Chatūrkahuripan,[62] Oṣadha-Pamēdasmāra, Oṣadha Aṇḍabhuwana, Oṣadha-Buddhaprayoga and Oṣadha-katuranggan.

HISTORICAL LITERATURE

The ancient historical texts of Kavi literature which have come down to us were composed mainly in Java. A great majority of these texts of historical importance deal primarily with the history of Java, whereas few others have recorded the history of Bali. These texts provide the basic and fundamental sources for understanding the history of the island.

The Nagarakṛatāgama, composed in the classical Kavi language in the fourteenth century, is one such work of historical importance. It was written by Prapañcha, the royal poet from the court of king Hayam Wuruk. The Nagarakṛtāgama provides a revealing account of the court and city life of the Majapahit, and the city is also known as Vilvatikta.[63] It is a great work in as much as it makes a bold attempt in giving a complete picture of the city of Majapahit. It seems that Prapañcha was very close to the king, as is revealed by his narration of accompanying the king on his royal journey to the East.[64] All this provided him with a deep insight of the court-life. He is regarded as the most successful of all ancient Indonesian historians. Without his work, the greatness of Majapahit empire would have remained obscure.

The Pararaton is another important historical work composed in prose. Although the identity of its author is not yet established, it was probably written in 1613 A.D.[65] The Pararaton is immensely helpful for the study of the political history of the Kaḍiri and the Sinhasari-Majapahit period. It is supposed to be a reliable book on the history of Indonesia.

The Usana-Java is a prose work which narrates the political history of Bali during the fourteenth century A.D. Unfortunately, the author of Usana-Java is unknown. R. Friedrich believes that it was written by one of the followers or descendants of Ārya Dāmar also known as Ādityavarman. The Usana-Java deals with the heroic deeds of Ārya Dāmar or Ādityavarman and of Mahāpatih Gajahmada, the prime minister of the Majapahit empire. The Usana-Bali is another important mythical historical text. Composed in middle Kavi-language it was written in the sixteenth century. It mentions the story of king Mayadānava of Bali, who was attacked by Lord Indra and the Āryas from India. This battle resulted in the death of king Mayadānava at the hands of Lord Indra.

Among the other historical or semi-historical works of Kāvi literature worth mentioning are the Ken Arok, the Rangga Lawe, the Lawe (Wavachan), the Pararaton (Kidung), the Harṣavijaya, the Mayadānavāntaka, the Pamañchangah, the Rājapurāṇa, the Kébo-yuva.

BĀBĀD

The Bābād is a popular story or chronicle half-historical and half-legendary. It is not written in a systematic way. It deals with the political history of Bali and Java. Some scholars opine that the Bābād does not contain any historical truth. It may be true to some extent but to ignore the Bābād altogether would be a folly. However small the element of truth, it can still serve as a valuable source of history. There is plenty of historical truth in Bābād, in spite of its several shortcomings and defects.

As Tonynbee says, "History, like the drama and the novel, grew out of mythology, a primitive form of apprehension and expression in which as in fairy tales listened to by children or in dreams dreamt by sophisticated adults, the live between fact and fiction is left undrawn. It has, for example, been said of the Iliad that anyone who starts reading it as history will find that it is full of fiction but, equally anyone who starts reading it as fiction will find that it is full of history."[66] And then Toynbee goes on to use myths as the keys to understand and unravel the cut of centuries of history of nation compressed into the plot of a single or few legends, and so to study, analyse and explain the rise and fall of civilisation in the world through the ages.

Each and every country has its share of such stories which form its cultural and historic heritage. Similarly the Bābād of Indonesia, too, is our heritage and one can learn much from it. The folk-lores and the folk-stories which form a part of the Bābād written in many hands were handed over from one generation to the other. All these are very helpful in providing the reader with an insight into the political, social and economic scenario prevailing in the country during the post-Majapahit period. Thus the Bābād form a valuable source of history of Bali particularly in the post-Majapahit period.

The Bābād-Badung is an important Kavi work. It opens with a reference to Ārya Dāmar, the famous general of the Majapahit empire, who, we are told, was the founder of the ruling dynasties in Badung and Tabanan kingdoms. According to the Bābād-Badung the rulers of Badung traced their descent from the Pāṇḍavas of the Mahābhārata. This work comprises of four chapters. The first two books describe the geneologies of the rulers of Pamechutan and Denpasar. The other two books carry detailed accounts of their respective descendants in Kasiman and Tégal. In the first chapter, the traditional *Avighnamastu* is followed by an invocation to Lord Śiva. The Sanskrit ślokas run as follows:

"Jayati jayamapnuti
sarvajñāna pratisuddha
navedathem kasteśvaryah
namastu Śiva devatāḥ.
Tvam deva bhuvana kṛṭṭah
sarva siddhi mahāt manam
satre tapas vidam
namaskaratam kṛtiḥ".

King I. Gusti Ngurah Alit of Denpasar seems to have been the last among the many authors who had their share in the writing of this historical work. He was a great patron of literature who died in 1906 fighting heroically with the Dutch colonialists. From the colophon we learn that the work was composed in 1904[67] before the kingdom fell to the Dutch forces.

The Bābād-Pasék is another important work in Kavi. It starts with the invocation *Om Avighnam astu nama Śivāya.* The introduction mentions a mythological story according to which the island of Bali once upon a time, was unstable. In order to stabilise it god Paśupati thought of bringing the top of Mount Mahameru to Bali. Badavangnala (Skt: Kūrmarāja) was entrusted with carrying out this task. The services of Anantabhoga (i.e. mythical Nāga Ananta) and Basuki were procured to bind the Mount on to the body of Kūrmarāja. It was, then, flown over to Bali by Nāga Takṣaka in the month of April, Kṛṣṇapakṣa śaka (1189 A.D.).[68] Once this task was accomplished, Lord Paśupati asked his children, Mahádeva (Śiva), Danu (Viṣṇu) and Agnijaya (Brahmā) to settle in Bali. Apart from this story, there are a number of other stories mentioned in this book. We find numerous references to the rulers of Bali and Java. We are also informed about the visit of five ṛṣis from Jambudvīpa (India) to Bali. One of the five ṛṣis, we are told, was Sage Agnijaya whose progenies, seven in number, became highly venerated saints of Bali. Towards the end of the Bābād-Pasék, we find a discourse on ethics and philosophy.

It seems that the main ideas expressed in the Bābād-Pasék were borrowed from the Ādiparva, the Māyādānava, the Pararaton, the Bābād-Dalém and the Dvijendratatva. Several other works which deal with the history of Bali such as Bābād-Tabanan, Bābād-Ārya Kapakisan, Bābād-Blahbatuh, Bābād-Buleleng, Bābād-Mengwi, Bābād-Bañchangah-Badung, Yuddha-Mangwi, Rusak-Buleleng (Gaguritan) and Pamañchangah-Tabanan deserve mention. Most of these Bābāds were written in Balinese Kavi language. Unfortunately the authors are unknown.

Besides, there are several books in which the geneologies of Balinese families, mostly Brāhmaṇas, have been described. Some of these are the Bābād Trivaṅśa, the Bābād Brāhmaṇa, the Bābād Brāhmaṇa Kéménuh, the Brāhmaṇa Purāṇa, the Brāhmaṇa-Cutē, the Bujaṅga Bali, the Brahmāṇḍa-Kathā, the Prasasti Blah-Batuh, the Pamañchangah-Kapakisan, the Bābād Kṣatriya, the Bābād Kṣatriya Taman Bali, the Aji Janantaka and the Mpu Kuturan.

LAW BOOKS

One of the ancient Law-books of India, the Dharmaśāstra of Gautama is quoted as authority by Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭa. The law book of Vasiṣṭa mentions that the Dharmaśastra of Manu had been the source of the later Mānavadharmaśāstra, which attained its present form by the second century A.D. It is not one single book, but it consists of many saṁhitās. According to Yājñavalka there were about twenty other law-books. But Manusmṛti is regarded to be the most ancient and outstanding work.

The first Law-book mentioned in Balinese edicts is the Manuśāsana, which was composed in the tenth century A.D.[69] Later on, the edicts of king Jayaśakti and Rāgarāja mention the law-book Kutara-vidhi-balavan. An edict issued by king Jayapāngus mentions about the Mānava-kamaṇḍaka. Both these law-books were based on the ancient Indian texts. The Majapahit period witnessed a revision in the Javanese texts of Bhṛgu and Manu, which came to be known as the Kutara-Mānava. According to Brandes, "The book Kutara-Manava really consists of two parts, the Kutara, inspired by Bhrigu, and Manava inspired by Manu."[70]

From the statements of Brandes we learn that the Mānava-kamaṇḍaka and the Kutara-vidhi-balavan were based on the law-books of Manu and Bhṛgu respectively. These books were popular in Bali in the eleventh century A.D. The law-book of Manu was used in the reign of king Jayapangus, while that of Bhṛgu was adhered to in the reign of Jayaśakti and Jayarāga. The old Javanese law-book the Kutara-Mānava continued to be followed in Bali, even after its secession from Java.

The Pūrvādigama and the Śivaśāsana were two other law-books famous in Bali. Both these were deeply influenced by the law book of Manu. The Pūrvādigaṁa was composed in the fourteenth century. The other law-books preserved in Bali are the Āgama, the Ādigama, the Devāgama, the Nīti, the Indraloka, the Vṛtiśāsana, the Ṛṣiśāsana, the Devaśāsana, the Rājapati-guṇḍala, the Prasasti-bhuvana, the Bṛunahatya, the Vidhivākya, the Devādāna, the Śvarajambu, the Pūrvaṇatatva, the Kṛtopapatti, the Dharmopapatti, and the Gamyagamana. Later on some other law books were composed, namely, the Pasvaran[71] Tabanan, the Pasvaran-Karangasem, the Pasvaran-Gianyar and the Pasvaran-Bangli.

ASTROLOGICAL-LITERATURE

Astronomy has been an extremely popular subject in India right from the ancient times. The science of stars, i.e., astronomy, when studied in relation with their effect directing human being, becomes astrology. This science was developed by such classical works as the Vaśiṣṭasiddhānta, the Romakasiddhānta, the Pauliśasiddhānta, the Paitāmahā, and the Sūryasiddhānta.[72]

Āryabhaṭa and Varāhamihira, were two of the most renowned astronomers of ancient India. Āryabhaṭa happened to live in the last quarter of the fifth century A.D.[73] Varāhamihira also known as the father of Indian Astronomy, divided this science into three parts namely Tantra, Horā and Saṁhitā.

We do not know it for sure as to when did a systematic study of astrology began in Bali. The first recorded reference, however, is found in the ninth century inscriptions which mention Śaka year, Tithi and Pakṣa. The story of the individual from birth till death, including auspicious or good and bad day, predicted upon his birth star or horoscope by the astrologer is known as *Wariga* among the Balinese and also Javanese. It contains also many astronomical details. It appears that the old Balinese-Javanese term *Wariga* is not an abbreviation from Sanskrit word of similar meaning, but seems to have been either a native word or yet another Kalinggan (Oriya) contribution from India; for we find the Oriyas even now using the term *Wārijā* or *Bārija* to mean nearly the same, though not as wide in connotation as in Bali or Java, and thus possibly the term *Wariga* could be a corruption of the Oriya term *Wārijā*, or vice-versa. In Bali, the term is used in a pervasive sense so as to cover all astrological informations, or even the Jyotisha-ṣāstra in general. It can not be denied that astronomy in Bali thrived owing to the Indian influence. However, it is difficult to identify the period of the emergence of Indian astrology in Bali. Presently we have a lot of literature on astrology in Kavi language like, the Wariga-garga, the Ekajalarāśi, the Wariga-bang, the Warigagamét, the Wariga-chaṇḍirēka, the Wariga-krimping, the Wariga-pamarisuddhanalaning-devasa, the Wariga-pañchakāṇḍa, the Wariga-parаṛṣian, the Wariga-patémuanśaśih, the Sundarī-gading, the Sundarī-térus, the Sundarī-bungkah, the Wariga-vanaṣasārī, the Wawatékan,[74] the Muhūrta Lakṣaṇa, the Ślokas (Zodiac signs), the Trilinga, the Chandra-pramāṇa, the Pawukon, the Pañcha-kāṇḍa-gémét (almanac), the Vṛhaspati kalpa, the Pratitisammutpada, the Svamaṇḍala and the Ātmāprasansā. Most of these astrological works were composed in Java in the Kaḍiri period.

The Wariga[75] was composed in the middle Kavi in Balinese script on palm-leaves. It deals with the study of planets in relation to their influence on human fate. It mentions the auspicious time to start a work. There are many more things connected with journey, agriculture and various other ceremonies which have been described in these manuscripts.

BALINESE CALENDER

All the inscriptions which were issued by the kings of Bali followed the Śaka Calender which originated in India. For the first time it was used in the coronation of king Kaniska in the year 78 A.D. Gradually its influence spread to South and Eastern India from where, probably, it was brought over to Indonesia. The Śaka Calender was used in Bali for the first time in 906 A.D. and even since it has been closely followed there.

The Balinese Śaka year which we find engraved in the inscriptions, is called *Chandra-Saṅkala*. There was a unique system of engraving *Chandra-Saṅkala*. Instead of being written in figure, it used words which had to be read from right to left. Each word denoted a particular number. For example Zero was indicated by Ambhara and Śūnya, whereas Netra, Agni, Vahni, Veda, Pāṇḍava, Śarā, Darśana, Muni, Vasus, Mūrti and Nava stood for two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight and nine respectively.

Most of the Balinese inscriptions, composed in Sanskrit, mentioned the date of issue and Chandra Saṅkala. For example an inscription issued by king Agninṛpati mentions *Pauśa māsa sitau tṛtīyā tithau śuklapakṣa*.[76]

The Śaka year is a Solar year whereas the Samvat is a Lunar one. There is a difference of eleven days between the Lunar and the Solar year. To keep parity once in every three years one whole month is added to the Lunar year. This additional month is known as the *mala-māsa* or *ṣaśiḥ-panampih*.

The Śaka year consists of twelve months, related to the twelve Rāsis. The Balinese Śaka year starts from March. The Balinese names of the twelve months are Kasanga (Chaitra), Kadaśa (Vaiśākha), Jesta (Jyeṣṭa), Sada (Āṣāḍha), Kasa (Śrāvaṇa), Karo [(Bhādravada) Skt: Bhādrapada], Katiga [(Asuji) Skt: Aśvina], Kapat (Kārtika), Kalima [(Mārga´sīro) Skt; Mārgasirṣa], Kanem (Pauṣya), Kapitu (Māgha) and Kawulu (Phālguṇa). The Sanskrit names, too, are used in Bali. The twelve rasis are Meśa, Vṛśabha, Mithuna, Karkata, Singha, Kanyā, Tula, Vrischika, Dhanu, Makara, Kumbha and Mīna.

Every month of the Śaka calender is divided into two pakṣas, i.e. fortnights, namely, the Śuklapakṣa or the full moon half and the Kṛṣṇapakṣa or the new moon half. The last day of the Śuklapakṣa is known as Purnamā (full -moon day) while that of the Kṛṣṇapakṣa is called Tilem (Amavasya or new Moon day). Each Pakṣa is divided into fifteen tithis, namely, Pratipada, Dvitya, Tritya, Chaturthi, Pañchami, Sasthi, Saptami, Asṭami, Navami, Dasśami, Ekadaśi, Dvadaśi, Trayodaśi, Chatūrdaśi and Purnamā or Tilém. The days of Śuklapakṣa are called *Tanggal*, whereas those of the Kṛṣṇapakṣa are called *Panglong*. The month starts from the first day of Śuklapakṣa and ends with Amāvasya.

After the tenth century A.D., the Balinese adopted the Śaka calender as well as the Pawukon calender. The latter was used chiefly for calculating the auspicious dates for any undertaking. Balinese inscriptions mention Wuku or the Pawukon week for the first time during

59. Himansu Bhusan Sarkar, "The Migration of Sanskrit Grammar, Lexicography, prosody and rehetoric to Indonesia, JAS. VIII, No. 2, p. 89.
60. These manuscripts are a part of the collection preserved in Gedung Kirtya, Singaraja, Bali, Indonesia.
61. *Vakataka-Gupta Age*, Edited by R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar, p. 415.
62. These manuscripts form a part of the collection preserved in Gedung Kirtya, Singaraja, Bali, Indonesia.
63. Theodore G.Th. Pigeaud; *Java in the 14th Century*, Vol. III, p. 3.
64. R.C. Majumdar; *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, p. 94.
65. R.C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, p. 95.
66. Arndd J. Toynbee; A Study of History, Somervell Edition. Dell Publishing Co. Paper Book, Vol. I, Ch. I, p. 63.
67. *Lontar Babad Badung*, under the custody of Ida Anak Agung Ketut Agung, Puri Majarashmi, Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia.
68. *Babad Pasek*, I. Gusti Bagus Sugriwa, p. 2.
69. R. C. Majumdar; *India and South-East Asia*, p. 121.
70. R.C. Majumdar; *India and South-East Asia*, p. 123.
71. Pasvaran is a collection of Royal edicts and Tabanan was the name of one of Balinese Kingdoms.
72. R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar; *The Vakataka-Gupta Age*, p. 416.
73. A. Berriedale Keith; *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 521.
74. These manuscripts have been preserved in Gedung Kirtya, Singaraja, Bali, Indonesia.
75. *Lontar Wariga*, under the custody of Ida Anak Agung Ketut Bagus Vidhyagama, Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia.
76. D.N. Pandit Shastri; *Sedjarah Bali Dwipa*, djilid II, p. 38.
77. D.N. Pandit Shastri; *Sedjarah Bali Dwipa*, djilid II, p. 46.

6

Art and Architecture

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

THE plastic arts were said to be introduced in Indonesia by the Hindu traders. The style of these artifacts was said to be distinctively of the Amarāvatī style. Ever since Buddhist faith got a foothold in the Indonesian archipelago several images of Buddha have been discovered. Beautiful bronze Buddha statues have been found near Kota-Bangun in the district town of Kutei and also in Mount Kombeng in Kalimantan. Some other images of Buddha have been discovered in Jember (East-Java), Mounth Siguntang near Palembang (Sumatra) and Sempaga (Sulawesi). All these bronze Buddhas bear the style of Amarāvatī school. Amarāvatī is a place situated on the bank of Kṛṣṇa river in Andhra Pradesh in South India, which rose to an eminent position in the spread of Buddhist doctrines abroad. These statues belong to the second century A.D.[1] The bronze Buddhas from Sulawesi belong to the early Śrīvijaya kingdom.

The early temples in Indonesia were built with bricks and did not have any niches. The architectural design of these temples is typically Indian. The first Hindu stone monument, discovered in Central Java, was probably constructed in the seventh century A.D.[2] This monument belongs to the oldest of the Hindu Indonesian buildings.[3] The architecture of the Dieng plateau temples is soothingly simple and is an embodiment of classic beauty. The materials used in the building of these monuments bears close resemblance with that employed in the Gupta period[4], whereas the architectural style is said to reveal the impact of the early

Chalukya art of South India.[5] The group temples of Arjuna, Śikaṇḍī, Puntadeva (Yudhiṣṭhira) and Subhadrā situated in the Dieng plateau are decorated with the chaitya-window motif and Kirtimukha (Kālamakara) displayed over the entrances. The presence of Kirtimukha is said to be very clearly reveal that the inspiration emanated from the Pallavas.[6] The relief of these temples mostly depict figures taken from the Brahmanical legends relating to Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu.

Apart from this, Indonesian art and architecture were deeply influenced by the Mahāyana Buddhism which reached the archipelago from Eastern and Western parts of India and also from places like Nālandā and Magadha. The influence of this later phenomenon can be best seen in various sculptural pieces built on the pattern of the Kaliṅga (Orissa) style of architecture and also of the Pāla and Sena art. The two latter styles emanated from Bengal and is said to have dominated Indonesian architecture in the eighth century.

The first Buddhist shrine erected in Java is Chaṇḍi Kalasan. It was built by Mahārāja Panaṅkaraṇ in the year 778 A.D. and was dedicated to Tārā. The architecture of Chaṇḍi Kalasan represented continuity with the style of the Chaṇḍi Dieng. Numerous small votive Stupas, which belong to this period, have been discovered in Bali. The script employed in the inscriptions in these votive Stupas is similar with that used over the entrance to the Chaṇḍi Kalasan of Central Java. This similarity of the script suggests that these votive Stupas, too, were made sometime around eighth century.[7]

The Gupta style of sculpture was followed in the colossal monument of Borobudur still a living embodiment of the Mahāyana Buddhism. Its bas-relief speak of the Pala influence. This huge monument was constructed between 760 A.D. and 878 A.D. by the Śailendra dynasty of Central Java. The whole edifice of Borobudur temple consists of ten successive tiered terraces. The gallaries of this huge monument have been aesthetically designed by illustrating stories taken from the famous Lalitavistāra on bas-reliefs. Besides, some portions depict episodes from the Gandavyuha which mentions Sudhana's travels throughout India.[8] Inside the temple there are extremely rare images of Buddha, not less than five hundred and four in number depicting Lord Buddha in different postures (Mudrās).

Besides this temple many more Buddhist monuments, though smaller in size, were erected in Central Java by the kings following of Mahāyana Buddhism, such as Chaṇḍi Meṇḍuṭ, Chaṇḍi Pawon. Chaṇḍi Meṇḍut was decorated with relief of Hāritī and Pañchika.[9] In this temple, in the beginning, there was a huge stone image of Buddha positioned between two Bodhisatvās. These stone images were modelled after the post-Gupta style. The statue of Avalokiteśvara in this Chaṇḍi is one of the best illustrations of Hindu Indonesian sculpture and can be compared with the best specimen of the Gupta school.[10]

These exquisite Buddhist monuments apart, there are a number of Hindu temples also. The huge, Śiva temple of Prambanan, also in Central Java, constructed around the same period as the Chaṇḍi Borobudur, is one such temple which was erected by the Sañjaya dynasty of Central

Java. Mahāguru, Durgā and Gaṇeśa, besides Śiva, are the other deities who were worshipped in this temple. The big Śiva temple of Prambanan is flanked on both sides by two other temples dedicated to Lords Viṣṇu and Brahmā. All these three temples have been beautifully decorated with engravings of illustrations from the famous Rāmāyaṇa and also from the Kṛṣṇāndhaka (Kṛṣṇa's childhoods). These reliefs have no equal in artistic excellence even in India.[11] In style, they are more dynamic and full of life than the Borobudur temple. More than the north Indian style, it is said to be the Pallava art which influenced the architectural style of the Prambanan temple. The Kirtimukha in this temple shows little change compared to the earlier monuments. It remains unaltered in form, but the head becomes more rounded. The Prambanan temple also known as Chaṇḍi Lorojongrang, is the biggest Brahmānical temple in the world. The whole complex of Prambanan consists of eight temples. The largest three main temples are dedicated to Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu. Each of these temples faces smaller temples built after their respective Vāhanas.

It must be admitted, however, that the architectural style of the Indonesian temples is not a mere replica of ancient Indian Art. Indian Art, no doubt, exerted a great influence on Indonesian art and architecture but it was pre-Hindu conception of architecture, prevalant in Indonesia, which interacted with the Indian style and had adopted its unique features. Mostly the architectural style of Hindu-Indonesian temples of the eighth century A.D. is classed with Pallava temples of South India. Very often a local pre-Hindu formula was evolved, crystalized and developed. It freely adopted, modified and rejected the older Indian forms.

DEVELOPMENT OF ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN BALI

In the sphere of art and architectural activities in Bali, the first contact with India was made long before the fifth and the sixth century A.D. The basis for this assertion can be found in innumerable examples which reveal close impact of Buddhist as well as Brahmānic faiths in the field of art and architecture, which are loaded with Indian themes.

The early art and architecture brought by Indian immigrants to Bali, was representative of Buddhist art. Soon after Brahmānic thoughts, too, made its impact felt in Bali. The Balinese kings who had adopted Hinduism, started giving encouragement to the Hindu style of art and architecture. This was made all the more necessary because devotees of both the sects required their own places of worship.

Nevertheless it took considerable time for Indian Art and architecture to strike deep roots in Bali. It was largely because of the pre-Hindu style of art and architecture, which enjoyed an exclusive position before the advent of Hinduism in Bali. Initially, the pre-Hindu people scrupulously adhered to the indigenous style, but gradually the two-pre-Hindu and Indian styles and sides got intermixed and the process resulted in the creation of a new style which was borrowed from the Indian as well as the pre-Hindu art and architecture. Thus emerged the architectural style of Bali as a class of its own, which undoubtedly enriched the Balinese school of art.

In fact the Indo-Balinese art represents an assimilation of the Indian and the local Balinese form. In the process of evolution, the trend represented by art and architecture shows as if the pre-Hindu group lost its living action and was spontaneously dominated by purely Indian tradition. This is not true. On the contrary the pre-Hindu art and architecture gained a technical perfection from the Indian influence.

A new feature in architecture now became evident in the style of the terraced-temple of Bāsakih at Karangsem district.[12] Formerly, it was the place of ancestor-worship during the pre-Hindu days. The pre-Hindu people, here, worshipped their ancestors who originally were either the chiefs of villages on some other important personages. Later on, when it became a Hindu temple the tradition of ancestor worship, too, remained alive, side by side. This has continued to be so, even in the modern times. According to an inscription, king Kesarīvarmadeva also used Bāsakih temple as the State-temple, in the last quarter of the ninth century A.D.[13]

From the tenth century A.D. onwards, Indo-Balinese art and architecture represents a harmonious blending of the native and the Indian elements. Thus the Indo-Balinese art came to acquire a special character of its own.

The Buddhist in Bali adopted the Stupa as well as the Chaitya and the monastic complex as a part of Buddhist architectural scheme. These were very often refered to as Vihāras. They were the dwelling places of monks as well as centres for meditation. The Guha-Gajah was one such monastery used by the Buddhist monks in the eleventh century A.D.

One of the prominent features of the Indo-Balinese temple architecture was the construction of large tanks in front of the temples. The remains of such temple-tanks have been dìscovered at Tirtha-émpul and Guha-Gajah. Another characteristic feature of the Indo-Balinese style was the use of Kirtimukha as a decorative piece. Such Kirtimukhas have been found in cave-temples as well as in the ordinary temples. The monuments mostly consist of a square shrine which might house an image raised on a platform. The entrance or the niche of the shrine was framed with Kirtimukha, commonly known as Bhauma in Bali, and over above arose the pyramidal superstructure. This can be seen in the structure of the Pura Sadha temple in Kapal near Denpasar.

The eleventh century A.D. introduced a novel feature in the field of Balinese Architecture. The credit for it goes to queen Gunapriyādharmapatni, the princess of East Java who ruled over Bali during this period. In the monuments constructed during her reign she introduced into existing style a distinct look owing to the Javanese influence, and this eventually became an independent style of architecture. The piece of sculpture, installed for her, seems to be the image of Durgāmahiṣāsuramardinī. This was merely an imitation of Indo-Javanese models, although obviously inspired by pure Indian Art.

Another important monument of Indo-Balinese style was the Royal rock tomb of Gunung-Kavi situated in the district of Tampaksiring. It was built in the eleventh century A.D. Among the other images, Bhairava was one of the prominent figures used in Balinese sculpture, which has close resemblence with Indo-Javanese art. This image was of remarkable form, majestic in pose, and had the elegance of its carving. This particular form of art was brought from East Java, when the king of Kaḍiri, Kṛtanagara, conquered Bali. At the instance of his spiritual mentors, the governor founded a shrine dedicated to Lord Bhairava. This statue now is housed in the Pura Kébo-ēdan temple, situated at Bādhahulu, Gianyar district. Tantric art was also flourishing in Bali, about the second quarter of the thirteenth century A.D.

MAJAPAHIT ART

As the Varmadeva dynasty approaches its end, the history of art in Bali begins to move into another direction. Bali came under the domination of the Majapahit empire in the second quarter of the fourteenth century A.D. resulting in the decline of the Balinese art. Face to face with the resurgent force of the Śiva-Buddha religion brought by the governor of Majapahit, Buddhist faith and Tantrism practices sank very low, and their sectarianism led to their downfall in Bali.

From here onwards Balinese art enters a new stage in its development. Many forms of Indo-Balinese art and architecture, which were in practice and fashion during the rule of Varmadeva dynasty were abandoned. The Majapahit art was introduced in Bali.

In the fifteenth century A.D. the royal family of Majapahit lost its kingdom in Java but retained its power in Bali. This led to a resurgence of the Śiva-Buddha religion and art in Bali. Since the reign of Gelgel dynasty a new concept was being introduced in the field of architecture, which became known as the Majapahit-Balinese Art. This period saw the gradual overshadowing of the Indian style by the Majapahit model, as the artists began to be influenced more and more by the latter, leading to the final abandoning of the former. The Javanese or the Majapahit style, however, was not accepted in toto. Its interaction with the local style culminated in a new style, which borrowed from both, and provided the prime force. The result was that during the Majapahit perid, the Balinese art rose to its zenith. This may be called a true national period, as distinguished from the purely Indian period preceding it.

The Majapahit style and pattern was strictly adhered to in the construction of temples. Local stones, sand-stones and bricks comprised the material used in the construction of temples. The temple-complex was entirely built with bricks and the use of stone was limited to the foundation of the temple only. Besides, the Majapahit architectural style was characterized by an irregular number of shrines, enclosure-walls and many gateways.[14] The Majapahit as well as the post-Majapahit shrines of Bali stand apart from the earlier ones particularly because of the absence of the image of Gods or Goddess, which, hitherto, took the central place. In this period the Balinese temples are quite similar with the Majapahit temples. Take for instance the case of Panataran temple. It can be compared with any representative Balinese temple. Both these temples follow the typical style of the courtyard being divided in three distinct portions.[15]

The Majapahit-Balinese temple is much more complex in nature than any other earlier style. It gives a clear evidence of the influence of Hindu-Javanese art in the motif and architectural elements. Moreover, the Balinese school of art and architecture was influenced by various architectural styles which preceded it. On the whole, the Balinese art and architecture in the Majapahit period marks the beginning of a style, which, even at an early stage, was national in character. It was under the Majapahit patronage that significant experiments in the art of temple-building in Bali were carried out. The Balinese have greatly cherished and preserved Majapahit art and architecture till today.

IDEALS OF ART

As in India, the art in Bali is mostly the hand-maid of religion. The artists lavished their skill and resources mainly on erecting religious monuments and images in which they included icons of deities, Ṛṣis and animals. Art was construed an indivisible part of one's religious activities and thus received full attention. Their sculptures or carvings on sand-stones, bricks, wood and even leaves (Sampian) are living testimonials of their great love of religion.

The main spring of Balinese art, being religious in essence, makes it mandatory for us to specify the different religious influences which affected it. The Balinese art has been deeply influenced both by Brahmānic as well as Buddhist doctrines and ideas. The religious monuments have played a major role in the cultural development of Balinese society. The Balinese shrines and monasteries have also usually been adorned with manifold architectural designs in order to produce the manifestation of an ideal and philosophical tradition of Epics and Purāṇas which are liberally carved on the walls, pillars and icons. Almost all the remains of Balinese art are sacred statues and sanctuaries.

The Shrines, whether of wood, brick, or stone generally have the same ideal. They depict mythological deities and animals. Each corner is usually adorned by either the head, or the whole body, of animals such as the Bull, Garuḍa, Makara, Gajaḥ or Singha depicted in the traditional style. The area around the plinth is also decorated likewise. In the delineation of these figures, the Balinese artist, quite often, is assisted by tradition and religion. Animals have generally been associated with specific divinities. The motif of animal had a particular significance. The Makara, for instance, was the vehicle of Varuṇa[16] and of Gaṅgā, while the Nāga symbolised fertility, and the elephant served as vehicle for Indra.

The figures of the Singha and the Bull peculiarly had their wings. Usually carved either on the door leaves or walls of the temple were taken from the stories told by Tantris, which became favourite with the Balinese artists in the post-Majapahit period. These two animals, that is the Singha and the bull, appear both in standing as well as sitting postures. Generally their right paw is shown a bit raised and the neck erect with the mouth wide open. Their wings spreaded and tails curled into a loop is the usual posture, as in the case of the winged-Singha on the door-leaves of the Pura-Bāsakih temple at Karangasem. The image of the Bull has been found in the Pura Changgi temple. The Garuḍa, Apsarās and Kinnaras comprise the other figures carved at the bottom of the pillars.

The walls of the Pura Maospahit (Majapahit) temple at Denpasar depict the images of Bhīma, Garuḍa and Rākṣasa. Most probably these were built for worshipping the Tantric Gods as well as ancestors. H.G. Quaritch Wales remarks, "Naturally we may suppose that this Tantrism being so largely concerned with ritual for the release of the soul, was particularly useful as a handmaid of the special Majapahit cult of the dead. Garuḍa, Bhīma and Hanuman were the most popular initiators, because they were endowed both with demonical characteristics and with good nature; they had thus power to chase away evil spirits, while, at the same time, they were well disposed to men."[17]

The statues of Gods, Goddesses, Ṛṣis and rulers, such as Śiva, Nārāsiṁha, Durgā, Sūrya and Viṣṇu, etc. were carved as standing on lotus-shaped pedestals, the latter being symbolic of purity and life-source, and were installed in the centre of the main shrine. Many such figures have been discovered in Pejeng, Sukhāvana and Bāsakih temples.

Stella Kramrisch rightly holds, "Temple architecture, in the fullness of its development, establishes in spatial terms an intellectual and actual approach to the Supreme principle of which the deity is symbolic. The statue is the manifestation (arca-avatara) of the deity, through a concrete work of art (murti), and the building is its body and house. Images are given shape by sculpture and painting, whose inter-relationship express in line, proportion and colour the love (bhakti) of the absolute, to which Gods and myths owe their existence".[18]

Unlike the Indians, who thought of the temple as the house of God, the Balinese upheld a slightly modified concept. For them the temple or shrine is a sort of "Guest house" or "Pāsimpāngān" for the Gods. So, the Balinese temple was conceived, not as a dwelling, but as a temporary lodging for the Gods, where the right be approached. It is believed that the Gods will not stay permanently in the temple, but for some time. The God will descend from the heaven, if the priest or devotee invokes Him, or the proper ceremony is performed.

For the Balinese, temple is a symbol or replica of heaven. It symbolizes liberation also. In order to attain liberation, speaking philosophically, the Hindus have to pass through the three worlds or Tribhuvanā. It is because of this concept that the Balinese temple is divided into three court-yards separated from each other by a wall with a gate. This three fold divisions of the temple court-yard symbolises Bhūr or Rajas, Bhuvah or Tamas and Svah or Sattvam. Such court-yards can be seen in the Pura Tamanayun at Mengwi, and the Panataran temple in East Java.

The first part was deliberately made plain to provide an open court-yard. It symbolised the material world. True to its materialistic features dances were held in this court-yard, which also housed a small-temporary market. This first court-yeard was symbolic of Bhūr-loka where the human beings reside and enjoy their lives. It was followed by the second court-yard which could be reached through a split gate or *Chanḍi béntār*. This portion housed the temple kitchen and the Maṇḍapa to prepare the offerings to the Gods. It was the Bhuvahloka or spiritual world of Piṭris. From the second court-yard to the third court-yard one passes through the main gateway called *Kori-aguṅg* or the Great gate-way.

The third court-yard represents the heaven or Svah-loka and it was there that the main shrine was placed. Besides, it also housed the minor shrines. This being the philosophy of three court-yards, when a devotee enters the temple and reaches the innermost shrine, after having passed through the first two court-yards, it symbolises his liberation and the consequent attainment of heaven. The beauty of the Kori-agung or Great Gate-way lies chiefly in the Kirtimukha, also known as Bhauma. It is carved above the door-way. This decoration is not without purpose. The underlying philosophy behind it is, the desire to ward off evil spirits which endanger the safety of religious places. According to Stella Kramrisch, Kirtimukha is the mask of Paramātma, the Supreme Spirit.[19] The Kirtimukha can also symbolise God Yama, who is traditionally held as the door-keeper of heaven. It is believed that he demarcates the wrong persons from the genuine devotees and debars him from entering heaven.

There are Dvārapālas or Door-keepers placed at the temple entrance. These are, quite often, delineated as of formidable figures, for instance, of Mahākāla, Naṇḍiśvara or Gaṇeśa.[20] These are depicted as holding weapons in their hand. In the case of Pura Huluwatu temple, one sees two figures of Gaṇeśa installed in front of the gate-way. These are huge figures armed with shields and *gadās* with one leg bent and resting on a small rock.

TEMPLES AND SHRINES

Unfortunately very limited amount of information is available regarding ancient temples and shrines of Bali. A great majority of ancient temples have perished in the course of ages, the chief reason being the quality of the material used for the construction of temples. It seems that in ancient times, besides stone, wood or bamboo was also used to build temples. The garbhagṛha was usually a plain rectangular place where the image of the chief deity was installed. This particular style seems to have been originated in the pre-Hindu period and has continued till the present day. The basic structure of the Balinese temple is, thus, the purely indigenous origin and has been derived from the pre-Hindu shrine. The rituals are conducted in the open or on the stone altar.

Later on, the Indian immigrants introduced their own style and technique. It was the Indian influence which inspired the Balinese artists to erect their monuments with materials, such as bricks,[21] of lasting value. Due to the scarcity of stone, the pre-dominant building material in Bali have always been burnt-bricks and timber. After the introduction of the Buddhist faith in Bali a new model of shrines and monasteries emerged. Timber still continued to be used. In this period the temple architecture of Bali has no regular shape or style. Numerous styles combined to form a style of its own. It was an attempt towards synthesis.

In between the pre-Hindu period and the eleventh century A.D. we do not come across any archaeological evidence whatsoever regarding Balinese monuments. The oldest monument appears only in the last quarter of the eleventh century A.D. This long gap makes it extremely difficult for the scholars engaged in the task of reconstructing the picture of Indo-Balinese architecture. If one leaves aside the Buddhist monuments there is not even a single example of

Brahmānic temple in Bali which shows the Indo-Balinese style and which has been preserved till today.

However we are much more fortunate when we deal with the Majapahit period in Bali. The *Hasta-Kośala*, an extremely valuable work of this period, enlightens us about all sorts of measurements and other stipulations as laid down by the Majapahit architectural style. This work seems to have been composed in the pre-Majapahit period in Java. Later on it was brought to Bali.

Thus the temple building activity in Bali since the beginning might be divided into two periods on the basis of epigraphical and stylistic pattern. The first period corresponds to the Indo-Balinese style which was patronised by the Varmadeva dynasty. It was under the combined influence of the Indian and the Javanese art that this style rose into prominence. The temples or monasteries of Indo-Balinese style were generally attached with a tank and the shrines contained images as the object of worship. The *Tīrthas* were almost invariably situated on river banks, sea-shores, lakes and streams, because the Hindus associated their religion with water and natural surroundings. The famous example is the tank of Bēdhahulu in the district of Gianyar. Most probably this tank is the earliest monument surviving in Bali.[22] The tank has staircases descending to an enclosed rectangular tank wherein are placed statues of six Apsarās or Vidyādharis who are holding the water-spouts. This tank is fed by natural springs and the water comes out through the pitchers held by the Apsarās.

Another important ancient tank is the *Tīrtha-empul* tank. It was built by king Jayasiṁhavarmadeva in 962 A.D. A stone inscription has been discovered near this place.[23] According to the traditional belief this pool was built by God Indra, who came from India. Both these tanks were used for temple ablutions and rituals. Apart from this, these served as bathing places for pilgrims also.

The second period corresponds with the Majapahit-Balinese style. It was at its zenith when the Majapahits ruled Bali in about the last quarter of the fourteenth century A.D. In this period it was not so important to instal the statue in the shrine. Krom says that the Majapahit temple consists of many buildings but without cohesion. It is in fact an incoherent mass of temples and terraces.[24] The temple of Majapahit-Balinese style have an outer wall with an entrance-gate called *Chaṇḍi-béntār* and *Kori-agung*. The temple generally faces West or South. The designs of these gate-ways most probably were adopted from South India through Java. We can mention the gate-way of Pura Changgi temple, Pura Hulu-watu and Pura Sadha temple.[25] They closely resemble the gate-way of Chaṇḍi Panataran, the royal temple of Majapahit empire, built about the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D. in East Java. Chaṇḍi-béntār or the split-gate, according to Prof. Lokesh Chandra, are found no where in India, except the one in Mysore, where it is engraved on the temple walls.

The Majapahit-Balinese temples are well decorated with various motifs to increase their beauty. The walls and tiles have been set in mosaic directly on the stony surface without any associate plaster-work. These have been decorated with various sculptural designs of flowers, plants, animals and various other things. Certain animal-forms have been used here predominantly such as the head of Garuḍa and Gajaḥ. These figures have particularly been depicted on the corners of the plinth.

The iconography has generally been derived from Indian sources but there are certain local variations also such as the figure of servants. Such figures have been engraved in an indigenous style known as *Wayang* style.[26] Thus in this period an excellent way had been found out in which the overture of Indian art through several generations had been Balinised. Although the architectural patterns employed in the construction of shrines cannot be categorically divided, yet these can be broadly classified under three heads depending upon the type of the roof. These three can be named as the Mēru-shrine, Géḍong-shrine and Padmāsana-shrine. We know very little about the origin of these shrines.

I. Mēru-Shrine

The particular style of architecture employed in the construction of Balinese shrines betrayes no other influence so sharply as that of Buddhist art and architecture. This influence is best illustrated by the eighth century shrines which stand apart because of their votive Stupas. The Buddhist style adopted here is of late Gupta period in the history of ancient India. Besides the big relief near Guha-gajah, the *Stupa* has storeyed umbrellas on the top. It can be assigned to the first quarter of the tenth century A.D.[27] Close to this site, thirteen storeyed umbrellas have been discovered. It seems that the idea of this type of Stupa came directly from India. The stone temple of Pura Susunan-wadon at Sakēnan provides another illustration of the Buddhist influence. Inside the temple we find a shrine of the Mahāyana Buddhist sect which is of great architectural value because of its peculiar roof. This roof consists of a number of horizontal tiers which decrease in size as it goes up.

The art and architecture of Mēru-shrine reveals the continuity of Buddhist stupa art of India. The stupas have been faithfully copied in the form of a Pagoda. The basic feature of the Stupa is its employment of storied umbrellas which add to its beauty. The Stupa was gradually came to be transformed into an elongated and vertical structure. This transformation may well have been the product of the unending intercourse between various styles which were then prevalent in India. The passion for verticality culminated in the towered structure which is said to have been built by Kaniṣka in the first century A.D. near Pesawar,[28] a great centre of Buddhism in Northern India. According to a sixth century account rendered by the Chinese pilgrim Sung-yun, the wooden tower of this structure was 190.7 metres high and it consisted of thirteen receding storeys. On its top was erected an iron pinnacle decorated with copper gilt umbrellas. The Chinese pilgrim, facilitated by the contacts of the Kuśānas with contemporary Chinese emperors, brought to his homeland a charming description of this marvellous edifice and very soon this enchanting beauty struck roots in China where under the genius of Chinese carpenters, it bloosomed in the form of the familiar Pagodas of China.[29] According to

R.C. Majumdar, "This style was popular in these Buddhist countries is perhaps furnished by the statement in the Nidānakathā, the preface to the Jātaka, that three palaces were built for young prince Siddhārtha; one had nine storeys, another seven, and the third five."[30]

Gradually these Chinese Pagodas become popular in Bali, and the process was accelerated because of the close links which the Chinese emperors had with Bali. We know that the two countries had good relations and Balinese kings even sent their embassies to China starting about the beginning of the sixth century A.D.[31] These Pagodas served as good models for Mahāyana Buddhist temples.

The similarity between the Mēru-shrine of Bali and those of Kerala, Nepal, Tibet and China indicates that this specific architectural style reached Bali through Nepal via Tibet and China. The Pagoda style is very popular in Bali even in modern times, but now these are used as Hindu religious places. Dr. Ronald M. Bennier remarks, "The Meru monuments of Bali, like the Wadah or cremation towers, seem to be indigenous developments in Balinese art and ritual that, despite their height and covering with multiple roofs, are only coincidentially like the Pagodas of Nepal".[32]

In the background provided by Buddhist artistic traditions, the Balinese evolved a style of Hindu shrine-architecture which had a distinct flavour of its own. The gradual evolution of this style reveals three distinct stages. Initially the whole of the structure was built with stone or bricks. This stage is best illustrated by the temple of Pura Susunan-wadon at Sakēnan, Badung district.[33] The next stage was marked by the use of wooden roof. While other portions the walls were still made with stone, Wood came to be employed in the construction of roof as for example the Mēru of Pura Yēh-Gaṅgā temple built in 1339 A.D. The final stage witnessed the use of timber on a much larger scale and except for the plinth the entire structure now came to be built with timber. The Mēru of the Bāsakih temple in which there is an inscription dated 1458 A.D. illustrates the third and the final phase in the evolution of the shrine architecture. The original idea behind the construction of Stupa was to house the ashes of the Buddha.

After the decline of Buddhism in Bali and the subsequent emergence of Śiva-Buddha cult the Buddhist Pagoda was transformed into a Hindu shrine. It came to be known as *Mēru* or Mount Mahāmeru. Both the Hindus and Buddhists believe Mount Sumeru to be the seat of the Gods. Both these sects named their shrines after that mountain. According to the Hindu concept, the *Liṅga* and the *Earth* are identical and the mountain of Meru is termed the *Navel* of the earth.[34] Meru is the sacred primeval the *Liṅga.* It is the pole of the earth. It is supposed to represent the mythical mount Meru, the Universal abode of Lord Śiva.

Originally the purpose of the stupa among the Buddhists was to hold the ashes of the Buddha. Later on the function was extended into holding the ashes of the monks also.[35] This practice continued in Bali till late in the seventeenth century A.D. The ashes of the Puṣpaśarīra of Hindu kings were kept in Mēru-Shrines. As an example of this we might mention the Pura Padharman, the royal temple of the Gelgel dynasty at Bāsakih.

Generally the Mēru-shrine is a square or rectangular structure. The upper floor consists of a small cell or garbha-gṛha. It is built on a raised basement of stones or bricks which makes it possible to raise the building high above the ground, without or with a flight of steps leading up to the entrance of the Meru. The entire building rests on a very high base forming a plinth level pedestal. At each corner of the pedestal is placed an artistic image of the face of Makara or Garuḍa. This kind of ornament can be seen in the Mēru-shrine of Mengwi.

The walls of Mēru-shrine are invariably plain although in some cases these are carved with figures of Gods, Ṛṣis, Gandharvas and also stories from the Rāmāyaṇa or the Mahābhārata. While the pedestal is made of bricks or stones the rest of the structure is made of timber. The entire Mēru building consists of a single small door-way on the front and there is no window. The door is usually decorated with beautiful carving of animal figures taken from the Indian Pañchatantra, the most popular being that of Singha with wings. There are four pillars in all the four corners and these hold the heavy weight of the upper roof. The horizontal lines of the roof represent the Indian style. These are intersected with vertical lines on all the four sides and the design reveals possible South Indian influences. The multiple successive stages are built on the top of the preceding one. The upper-most roof is always in the form of a peak and is covered with gilt copper or pitcher (Kalaśa). Dr. Ronald M. Bernier has compared the Nepalese Pagodan architecture with that of the Balinese Meru. He says, "The only parallel to this silhouetre in world of art is in the structurally less substantial but proportionally taller Meru Pagoda monuments in Bali. Both forms are earthbound arrows pointing toward the sky."[36]

The number of storeys of the Mēru depended upon the Pitris or Gods to whom the Mēru-shrine was dedicated. E.B. Havell says, "The Royal umbrella raised on the top of the Stupa was not mere religious symbolism; it was in the first instance a recognition of the social rank real or assumed, of spiritual teachers whose ashes were deposited there".[37]

The highest known Mēru-shrine consists of eleven storeys. The Mēru of Pura Padharman of Bāsakih, contains eleven storeys. It is dedicated to the Senāpati Śrī Kṛṣṇa-Kapakisan, the founder of the city of Samprangan. The eleven storeyed Mēru shrines of Pura Batumadég temple and Pura-Kidulingkrétég temple are dedicated to God Viṣṇu and god Brahmā respectively. Another Mēru, nine storey high, is dedicated to king Dalém Kétur. The seven, five and three storeyed Mērus are dedicated to king Dalém Waturénggong, Dalém Sagéning and king Dalém-di-Made respectively.[38] According to a tradition, the eleven storeyed cremation tower is built for the king, nine for members of royal families or the kṣatriya caste, seven for the Vaiśya and only single storeyed for the Śūdra.

II. Geḍong-Shrine

The representative monument of Indo-Balinese style is the *Geḍong shrine.* This is specially devoted to Hindu Gods. Its origin can be traced back to the monuments of pre-Hindu period. Later on Indian technique and style influenced it. It can be compared with the Draupadī-Ratha temple of Mahābhalipuram in Tamil Nadu which was built by the famous Pallava kings.

In many aspects the Geḍong shrine remains close to its Indian origin except for some minor variations. This shrine was first introduced in Bali by the Indian traders to worship Goddess Lakṣmi. According to Viṣṇudharmottara, the simplest type of temple is a square, one storeyed house with an idol of Lakṣmi installed[39] inside. Goddess Lakṣmi is revered mostly by Hindu traders.

For constructing the Geḍong shrine both bricks and timbers are employed. The chamber is high above the basement with a single door-way in the front. The door-way has a wooden frame highly decorated. The entrance is through a two winged door with a lock attached to a sliding bolt used to close it. Beside the door there are two false windows on the outer walls. The walls and the plinth are decorated with indigenous artistic expressions, typical pre-Hindu such as Wayang-type. Rich varieties of flower and animal figures adorn the walls. Generally the pillars support the roof and these are put in every corner. The base of each pillar is carved with attractive figures of Singha, Kinnara or Garuḍa. The upper-most moulding of each pillar is supported by brackets on which the capital is placed. On the capital is carved the *Kāpu-kāpu* plant motif. The pillars are also decorated with floral motifs and Svāstika-type. The roof of the Geḍung shrine is slanting without any storeys. It is supported by designed pillars attached to roof. The number of pillars increases with the size of Geḍong shrine. In small Geḍong shrines like the Pura Maospahit temple and Pura Majalaṅgu temple at Gerenceng in Denpasar, there are only four pillars. But in the case of larger ones like Pura Batur, the Viṣṇu temple in Bangli district, the number has substantially increased. From the steps one could conveniently enter the chamber. The Geḍong shrines built in the post-Majapahit period are richly decorated with numerous statues and the walls are decorated by carvings of various patterns.

III. Padmāsana-Shrine

The Majapahit period in Bali saw the emergence of a new architectural style. It developed under the influence of the Majapahit style. Consequently, *Pādmāsana* shrine or the lotus-throne shrine came to be built. The most famous of such shrines is the Padmāsana-tiga of the Bāsakih temple. The ruins of a Padmāsana-shrine have been preserved in the Mojokerto museum in east Java. According to Bernet Kempers, the idea of Padmāsana-shrine seems to have developed from the small pyramid and stone-throne structures of the Megalithic period.[40] It seems that origin of Padmāsana-shrine is from the Liṅga-yoni symbol. When the Liṅga-yoni cult declined, the worship of Liṅga was replaced by the Padmāsana-form. The story depicted on the Padmāsana-shrine was taken from the Ādiparva wherein is described the episode of the Gods and Rākṣasas churning the Kṣīrārṇava.

The Padmāsana-shrine is a roofless shrine. It is built entirely with stones-and bricks. The basement is carved with the image of Kūrmarāja who is believed to have been coiled by Nāga Vāsuki and Nāga Ananta. The Pura Jagannatha temple at Denpasar suggest that the plinth too was well ornamented, One finds the figures of Gods and Rākṣasas are usually used as decorative items on the plinth. The plinth is divided into eight parts where these images were placed as the

At Bēdhahulu, a Gaṇeśa statue has been found in the left wing of Guhā-gajah cave. It shows the pot-bellied God having four arms, high crown, necklace and holy thread seated in Padmāsana. He is armed with an axe in his left back hand. The image is well ornamented. While his right hand holds a bowl, the other hands are carrying a Paraśu and Akṣamala.

The Liṅga installed in the right wing of the Guhā-gajah cave is an interesting specimen of art. This Liṅga is made of a highly polished rock-stone. The Liṅga's shaft is square at the bottom. Similar Liṅgas have been discovered at many places in Bali; such as at Sukhavana temple, Pejeng, Bāsakih and Tampaksiring. The Liṅga in Guhā-gajah cave, however, is a little bit different from the others. It is in the form of a *Tri-liṅga* and each of the three is surrounded by eight smaller ones and encircled by a band at the centre. It was carved out of monolithic stone.[46] The length of the pedestal is about one metre. The Tri-liṅga represents the Tri-Mūrti of Śiva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu. The central Liṅga representing Śiva is larger than the others.

On the left of the entrance to the Guhā-gajah cave, there is a mandapa type structure. It seems to be a subsidiary shrine with a square structure consisting of four pillars surrounded with walls but the front is open. In this mandapa there is the image of a mother surrounded by three children two on her sides and one sitting in her lap. This mother has been identified as Hārītī. Balinese call her *Mēn-brayut.* She is seated on a raised platform with legs hanging down.

All these statues mentioned above betray the influence of the Indo-Javanese style. Most of them belong to eleventh century A.D. The other figures which have been discovered near the Guhā-gajah cave are the statues of various Apsarās. The images of Apsarās standing on the lotus-pedestals are more than two metres high. There are six images put into two different groups. In between the two rows there is an empty stone lotus-pedestal. Most probably it had the statue of Gaṇeśa. The figures show intense feeling for rythm and have elegance. Each of these Apsarās is holding a pitcher from which water is sprouting. These Apsarās are similar to those of Chaṇḍi Belahan in East Java.

III. Bhaṭṭārī-Maṇḍul

The artists belonging to the Indo-Balinese period, in making use of Hindu deity forms, adopted simple technique, besides rigid mortuary sculpture.[47] The most evident examples are the stone figures of Śiva and Bhaṭṭārī-Maṇḍul. These are housed in the Pura Sukhavana temple at Kintāmaṇi, Bangli district. The temple was constructed at the cemetary of queen Bhaṭṭārī-Maṇḍul, possibly the queen of king Anak Wungsu. The image bears a badly preserved inscription. The inscription on the back of the image reads *Bhaṭṭarī-maṇḍul* meaning *Childless mother.*[48]

The image is carved as standing on a lotus and is well ornamented. She is wearing a girdle or necklace, earrings, bangles, bracelets, and anklets. Besides she is putting on a finely embroidered garment of variegated pattern droping down to her ankles and a belt around her hip. She wears a small crown also.

Sturtterheim remarks, "Some figures of deified kings and queens, very often depicted together standing on base, show such pronounced Indonesian features that no doubt can remain about the drastic departure from Brāhmaṇical style. The bodies have no more the slender grace and movement of the Brāhmaṇical Gods. Rigidly closed, they stand like mummies".[49]

The statue of Bhaṭṭārī-Maṇḍul was made locally in a local style which bears no connection with Java. The artist was Mpu-Bgē whose name is engraved on the back side of the statue. The image of Bhaṭṭārī-Maṇḍul appears to be among the original sculptures of the Indo-Balinese style.

IV. Bhairava

When the rulers of Singhasāri dynasty ascended the throne of Bali, they introduced a new cult and art in Bali. This new cult was founded during the reign of Kṛtanagara. This period witnessed the emergence of the Bhairava sect as a branch of Śaivism. The worship of Bhairava became prominent by the last quarter of the thirteenth century A.D. An image of Bhairva has been found in the Pura Kébo-édan at Bedhahulu, Ginayar district, which represents the deity in a standing posture. It is a huge figure. The deity is wearing rectangular beaded pendents falling over his shoulders. His legs and arms have been coiled by snakes. He is wearing a *Dhotī-type* garment below the waist. There is a knot at the hips and the front part of the garment is rolled into a girdle as a tassel falls in front on the thighs. Bhairava is depicted in a dancing posture and in between the two legs there is the big phallus deliberately shown as stealing out of the clothes. He has two arms, and is standing over a human body. He is attended by a pair of Rākṣasas who are holding skulls in their hands while Nandī is shown in front.

The decorative character reveals a strong influence of the Singhasarī tradition. It has been suggested that this desire for erecting such immense statue originated from East Java. Obviously the origin of the Balinese Tantric art can be traced back to the art of East Java.

Various other images bearing the Tantric touch have been discovered in the Pura Maospahit temple at Gerenceng, in Denpasar. These had been engraved on the temple walls near the split gate-way. These images are of Garuḍa, and Bhīma. Both of them are shown as standing on high pedestals. The Garuḍa is depicted with folded hands while his wings are spread. Bhīma's neck is in the grip of a snake. According to Stutterheim this particular style shows that these images were engraved in the Majapahit period in Bali in about fourteenth century A.D.

V. Bas-Reliefs

Side by side with the highly stylised sculptures of the Indo-Balinese period, we also come across bas-reliefs of secular character. The subject matter of these bas-reliefs deals mostly with humble people or villagers doing ordinary day-to-day tasks such as riding, fighting, leading horses, enjoying and resting in a realistic manner. This provides us with a glimpse of the life-style of the common people. Excellent specimen of Balinese bas-reliefs can be seen at *Yēh-Pulu* not very far from Guhā-gajah cave. The bas-relief discovered here is two metres high and twenty five metres long.[50] A whole series of human figures performing various acts has been depicted on it. The very first figure carved on the relief appears to be that of Gaṇeśa. It seems that all these figures are narrating some story which is unfortunately not known. Most probably this piece of bas-relief belongs to the fourteenth century A.D.[51]

CAVE TEMPLE

There are very few caves which have survived in the course of centuries, but this does not prevent us from forming a fairly good idea of their architectural peculiarities. These caves carved out of huge boulders on mountains were used as residence and also for meditation by the devotees of various sects in Bali, as in India. The cave architecture, however, did not make much progress in Bali. The *Guhā-gajah* cave, situated on the left bank of a river, rose to prominence as a big Buddhist Vihāra in the eleventh century A.D. It is situated at Bēdbahulu, the assumed capital of king Mayadānava. A big tank has also been discovered in front of the cave.

The name Guhā-gajah has given rise to various speculations regarding its original name. The earliest references to this place are found in two inscriptions issued in 1059 A.D. and 1098 A.D. respectively which mention this place as *Anta-kuñjara-pada*.[52] A later inscription dated 1181 A.D. names it as *Ratna-kuñjara-pada* (Āśrama-kuñjara).[53] This name reminds us of a place in Mysore in South India which was once called *Kuñjara-kuñja*, the Āśrama of Mahārṣi Agastya. Later on, this cave in Bali was called Aira-gajah. According to the Nagarakṛtāgaáma, this cave was known as *Lwah-gajah* in the last quarter of the fourteenth century A.D.[54]

Actually the cave, in Bali, itself does not bear any authentic name, but for some unknown cause the people appear to have given it the fanciful name Gu(h)ā-gajah cave (Elephant-cave). It has been named after its shape as Gu(h)ā (cave). Inside the cave there is a statue of Gaṇeśa, the elephant headed God. As already mentioned, in the beginning it was called Air-gajah (Elephant-water) and also Lwah-gajah (Elephant-river). There is a river in front of the cave. The attribution of *Gajah* to this cave was given possibly after its conversion from a Buddhist monastry to a Brāhmaṇic temple. The Gu(h)ā-gajah cave contains two inscriptions carved on the wall. Bernert Kempers reads these inscriptions as *Kamon* and *Sahyavaṅśa*. According to him the script used belongs to the eleventh century A.D.[55]

There are two contradictory opinions regarding the founder of this cave. While some scholars believe it to have been founded by the Buddhists,[56] there are others who hold that it was built by the Brāhmaṇic[57] followers of Hinduism. Most probably it was built during the reign of Kesarīvarmadeva in the beginning of the tenth century A.D. when the Buddhist faith was flourishing. With the decline of the Buddhist organisation in a later period, subsequent rulers converted it to a Hindu temple. By the time carvings were made on its entrance it had already become a Brāhmaṇic temple. It can be guessed that the images of Brāhmaṇical Gods which have been found there were placed at a much later period, and originally these were not there.

Probably it was done by some Brāhmaṇic ruler who renovated the front portion of the cave. This process started in the reign of king Marakatapaṅkajastanoṭṭuṅgadeva in the eleventh century A.D.[58] This cave remained famous till the Majapahit period.

The design of the Gu(h)ā-gajah cave appears to be very simple, if compared to its Indian counterparts. It has been carved in a *T-shape* out of a rock on the bank of Petanu river. The cave has two wings, one on the left and the other on the right side. It was possibly designed as monks' room. But later on the statue of Gaṇeśa was placed in the left wing. The cave is facing Southwards. It consists of fifteen niches. These niches were probably meant for placing lamps. The cave is without any pillar and has one entrance. The inner walls of the cave are simply plain and there is no ornamentation. The height inside the cave permits a person to move comfortably.

The entrance leads to a small hall. The space in the chamber is enough to allow free movement of a standing person. The halls are oblong and plain as their corresponding wall are of the same length. The floor is somewhat raised at the rear end, and was evidently meant to provide a sort of couch for monk's meditation or sleeping. The entrance of the cave consists of a rectangular opening about two metres high and one metre wide.

The most remarkable feature of this cave is the big Kirtimukha carved at the entrance. It appears as the head of a richly ornamented demon with jaws missing. The ear-ornament worn by the demon resembles the ear-rings of the Dvārapālās of the Chaṇḍi of Java. Besides it has a round face with curved eye-brows and protruding eyes. The eye balls are turned towards left. The demon is depicted having a pointed nose and sharp teeth. The jaw is completely missing while the fingers appear near the face. The plaited hair look like waves in the ocean. The scene which is depicted here, it seems, was taken from the Balinese story of the birth of Bhauma, the son of Lord Viṣṇu and Pṛthvī. According to the story, Bhauma was born in the ocean as a demon. Four big Dvārapālās are installed near the gate-way of the cave.

ROCK-TOMBS

Some rock-tombs have been discovered in Bali. Unfortunately most of these are in a badly damaged shape. Mention can be made of the rock-tombs discovered in Tegallingah, Chaṇḍi-champuan and Chaṇḍi Kalibutan regions of Gianyar district. All these belong to the twelfth century A.D. The height of Chaṇḍi Champuan is about six metres.[59] There are two small caves near this Chaṇḍi.

Another famous rock-tomb has been discovered in Gunung-kawi. It is situated on the East bank of Pakrisan (Kṛṣṇa) river. According to the inscriptions, this area was known as Amarāvatī Āśrama. It was one of the earliest Buddhist centres in Bali. This tomb was built in the memory of king Anak Wungsu who died in 1077 A.D. The tomb contained the ashes of the *Puṣpaśarīras* (flower-effigy) of the king and also of his queen. The rock-tomb of Gunung-kawi was hewn out of solid rock. There is another tomb, though smaller in size, situated on the West bank of river Pakrisan. Both these tombs contain a number of deep niches. There is not much decoration, and the appearance is simple. These tombs have high conical shaped roofs[60] built in many successive stages.

There is a boldly moulded base with overhanging cornice, together with the tiered and diminishing superstructure composed of miniature elements. A false door-way interrupts the plinth and cornice. The idea of this type of Chaṇḍi originated in Java. According to Goris, the Chaṇḍi architecture was really quite foreign to Balinese religious conception before the advent of Javanese influence.

There are two inscriptions engraved on the gate of the tomb. One reads, *Aji-lumahing-jalu*[61] and the other *Rwa-anak-ira* (two sons). The rock tomb of Chaṇḍi Gunung-kawi is divided into two groups. The first group consisting of five tombs can be considered as of an earlier period compared to the second group which comprises of four tombs. The group of five rock-tombs are dedicated to king Anak Wungsu, his queen and concubines[62], while the other four tombs to his ministers.

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41. Dawee Daweewarn; *Brāhmanism in South-East Asia,* p. 187.
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57. D.N. Pandit Sastri; *Sedjarah Bali Dwipa,* p. 101.
58. D.N. Pandit Sastri; *Sedjarah Bali Dwipa,* p. 68.
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Chronological Index

I. Genealogical Tree of Varmadeva Dynasty

1.	Śrī Kesarivarmadeva (Founder of Varmadeva dynasty ?)	± 913 A.D. - ± 915 A.D.
2.	Śrī Ugrasena	± 915 A.D. - ± 942 A.D.
3.	Agninripati	± 953 A.D. -±(?)
4.	Śrī Aji Tabanendravarmadeva and Subhadrikadharmadevī (a relation of Ugrasena)	± 955 A.D. - ± 967 A.D.
5.	Jayasiṁhavarmadeva	± 960 A.D. - ± 962 A.D.
6.	Śrī Janasadhuvarmadeva	± 963 A.D. - ± 975 A.D.
7.	(a) Śrī Vijayamahādevī (The Viceroy of King Dharmavaṁśa of East Java)	± 976 A.D. - ± 989 A.D.
	(b) Queen Mahendradattā Guṇapriya dharmapatnī and Udayanavarmadeva	± 989 A.D. - ± 1007 A.D.
8.	Udayanavarmadeva (Consort of No. 7 and a relation of No. 6).	± 1011 A.D. - ± 1022 A.D.
9.	Marakata (Son of No. 7 and 8)	± 1022 A.D. - ± 1026 A.D.
10.	Anak Wungsu (Younger brother of No. 9)	± 1049 A.D. - ± 1077 A.D.
11.	Valaprabhu	± 1079 A.D. - ± 1088 A.D.
12.	Queen Sakalendukiraṇā	± 1088 A.D. - ±ò 1101 A.D.
13.	Śuradīpa (Succeeded No. 12)	± 1115 A.D. - ± 1119 A.D.
14.	Jayaśakti	± 1131 A.D. - ± 1155 A.D. (?)
15.	Hariprabhu	± 1155 A.D. - ± 1177 A.D. (?)
16.	Jayapangus Arkajalañchana	± 1177 A.D. - ± 1200 A.D. (?)

17. Ekajayalañchana	± 1200 A.D. - ± 1204 A.D (?)
18. Bhaṭṭāra Guru (I)	± 1204 A.D. - (?)
19. Bhaṭṭāra Parameśvara	± 1260 A.D. - (?)
20. Bhaṭṭāra Guru II	± 1324 A.D. - 1328 A.D.
21. Taruṇajaya	± 1328 A.D. - (?)
22. Aṣṭaśūra Bhūmibantén	± 1332 A.D. - ± 1343 A.D. (?)

II. Chronological Order of the Rulers of Dalem Dynasty

1. Śrī Kṛṣṇa Kapakisan	± 1350 A.D. - (?)
2. Dalem Ketut (Son of No. 1)	± 1352 A.D. - (?)
3. Dalem Samprangan (Brother of No. 2)	± 1352 A.D. - ± 1380 A.D.
4. Dalem Ketut Ngelesir (Brother of No. 3)	± 1380 A.D. - ± 1460 A.D.
5. Dalem Waturenggong (Son of No. 4)	± 1460 A.D. 1550 A.D.
6. Dalem Pamayun (Dalem Bekung) (Son of No. 5)	± 1550 A.D. - ± 1580 A.D.
7. Dalem Sagening (Brother of No. 6)	± 1580 A.D. - ± 1665 A.D.
8. Dalem di Made (Son of No. 7)	± 1665 A.D. - ± 1686 A.D.

III. Chronological Order of the Rulers of Deva Agung Dynasty

1. Deva Agung Jambe	
2. Deva Agung Made (Son of No. 1)	
3. Deva Agung di made (Son of No. 2)	
4. Deva Agung Śakti (Son of No. 3)	
5. Deva Agung Putra I (Son of No. 4)	
6. Deva Agung Putra II (Son of No. 5)	
7. Deva Agung Strī (Sister of No. 6)	
8. Deva Agung Ktut Agung (The Yongest son of No. 4)	
9. Deva Agung Putra III (Son of No. 8)	
10. Deva Agung Jambe (Son of No. 9)	(?) - 1908

IV Genealogical Tree of Bhandhanarajya Dynasties (According to the Babad Badung)

(A). *Chronological order of the Pamechutan Dynasty in the United Kingdom of Badung (Bandhanarājya)*

1. Mahārāja Bhaṭṭāra Śakti (Pamechutan I)	1713 1729 ± 1813 A.D. - ± 1829 A.D. (?)
2. I. Gusti Ngurah Pamechutan II Mur ing Ukiran (Son of No. 1)	(?)
3. I. Gusti Ngurah Pamechutan III Bhaṭṭāra Devatā di muñchuk (Son of No. 2)	(?)
4. I. Gusti Gede Raka Pamechutan IV Bhaṭṭāra Devatā di Gedong (Son of No. 3)	(?) - ± 1830 A.D.

Kur

5.	Bhaṭṭāra Lina ring Bhasama I. Gusti Gede Pamechutan V (Son of No. 4)	± 1830 A.D. - ± 1845 A.D.
6.	Bhaṭṭāra Mur ing Madharda I. Gusti Ngurah Gede Pamechutan VI (Nephew of No. 5)	± 1845 A.D. - (?)
7.	I. Gusti Agung Lanang Pamechutan VII (Brother of No. 6) VII	(?)
8.	I. Gusti Ngurah Pamechutan VIII (Son of No. 7) VIII	(?)
9.	I. Gusti Ngurah Pamechutan IX	(?)
9. 10.	I. Gusti Ngurah Gede Pamechutan X mur ring Raṇāṅgana	(?) (?) - ± 1906 A.D.
10 11.	Ida Anak Agung Chokorda Gede Pamecutān XI Devatā muring Bandhanapura X	9 (?) - 1945 (1686)

(B). *Genealogical Tree of Jambe Dynasty in Chronological Order*

1.	Jambe Pule	(?)
2.	Jambe Merik (Son of No. 1)	(?)
3.	Jambe Katewel (Son of No. 2)	(?)
4.	Jambe Tangkeban (Son of No. 3)	(?)
5.	Jambe - Aji (Son of No. 4)	(?)
6.	Bhaṭṭāra Devatā mur ing Jerokuṭa Jambe Kṣatriya (Son of No. 5)	(?)

(C). *Rulers of the Denpasar Dynasty in the Chronological Order*

1.	I.Gusti Ngurah Gede Kaleran Denpasar I	± 1840 A.D. - (?)
2.	Bhaṭṭāra Mur ing Dharma Kṣatriya I. Gusti Ngurah Made Denpasar II (Son of No. 1)	± 1840 A.D. - 1861 A.D.
3.	I. Gusti Gede Ngurah Denpasar III	(?)
4.	Bhaṭṭāra Devatā mur ing Devasthana I. Gusti Ngurah Gede Weka Denpasar IV	(?)
5.	Bhaṭṭāra Devatā mur ing Kushala grama I Gusti Ngurah Gede Denpasar V	(?) - 1906 A.D.

V. Genealogical Tree of Deva Manggis Dynasty in Gṛhañar (Gianyar) Kingdom in Chronological order

1.	Deva Manggis I	(?)
2.	Deva Manggis II (First King) (Son of No. 1)	(?) - 1820
3.	Deva Manggis III (Second King) (Nephew of No. 2)	(?)

4. Deva Manggis IV (Third King) (?) - 1867
   (Son of No. 3)
5. Deva Manggis V (Fourth King) (?) - 1891
   (Died at (K) Satriya), Son of No. 5.

VI. Genealogical Tree of Panji Dynasty in Buleleng Kingdom

1. Ki Gusti Ngurah Pañji Śakti
2. Ki Gusti Ngurah Pañji Gede
3. Ki Gusti Ngurah Pañji Made (?)
4. Ki Gusti Ngurah Pañji Bali
5. Ki Gusti Ngurah Pañji Sukhasada and
   Ki Gusti Ngurah Jelanti of Singaraja.

VII. Genealogical Tree of Karangasem Dynasty

1. I. Gusti Noman Karang
2. Ki Gusti Agung Made Karangasem Sari
3. Ki Gusti Ngurah Agung
4. Ki Gusti Agung Pahang
5. Ki Gusti Ngurah Made

Index

A

- Abhimanyu, 137
- Āchera, 26
- Ādidevalañchara, 53
- Ādiparva, 134-138
- Ādipati, Yunus, 57
- Ādiya, 93
- Agastya, 84
- Agni, 93
- Agninṛipati, 47-48
- Agriculture, 7
- Agung, mount, 4
- Airlingga, 50-51
- Aji Śaka, 24
- Anak Wungsu, 51
- Ancestor-Worship, 9
- Animal Worship, 12
- Arjuna, 137
- Art, 13-16
    - beads and shells, 14
    - metals, 14
    - pottery and painting, 15-16
- Art and Architecture
    - Cave temple, 172-173
    - development, 157-159
    - ideals of, 160
    - introduction of, 155-157
    - Majapahit, 159-160
    - Rock-Tombs, 173-174
    - Statues, 168
        - bas-reliefs, 171-172
        - Bhairava, 171
        - bhaṭṭārī-Maṇdual, 170-171
        - Durgāmahiṣāsuramardini, 168
        - Gaṇeśa, Linga and Hārītī, 169
    - Temples and Shrines, 162-164
        - Geḍong-shrine, 166
        - Meru-shrine, 164
        - Padmāsana-shrine, 167-168
- Ārya Bébed, 62
- Ārya Damar, 55, 62
- Ārya Hindus, 75
- Ārya Kṛṣṇa Kapakrisan, 57
- Āryabhaṭṭa, 23, 150
- Aśoka, 28
- Aśrama, 31
- Aśrama system, 111-112
- Aṣṭaśūra, 54
- Astrological literature, 150-151
- Aśvavarman, 29

Austroloid, 2
Austronesians, 3
Awigawing-deśa, 47

B

Babād, 147-148
Badung Chose War, 69
Badung Kingdom, 62-63
Bali, 33, 35, 45-46, 54
    Caste system in, 77-78
    title in, 81-82
Bali, Cultural Background of
        art, 13-16
    economic and social life, 6-7
    introduction, 1-2
    megalithic culture in, 4-5
    people of,
    religions beliefs, 8-13
Bali embraces Hinduism, 33
Bali, political history of, 41
    Gajahmada conquers in , 54-55
    Majapahit rule, 56
    over-throws the Yoke, 51
    under-Hindu kingdom, 41-43
    under Varmadeva dynasty, 47-48
Balian, 9, 11
Balinese calender, 151
Balinese domesticated, 10
Balinese Gods and Goddesses, 88-90
Balinese Hinduism
    religions faith, 82-88
    varna system, 75-82
Balinese Kingdom, proliferation of the, 59
Balinese Śaivism
    essential features of, 120-121
    philosophy of, 117
Balinese Twice-Born, daily worship of, 95-96
Ballava, 137
Bangli kingdom, 68
Banjar law, 7
Barhiṇadvīpa, 22
Barter system, 7
Baṭṭāra Guru (II), 54
Baṭṭāra Parameśvara, śrī Virama, 53
Bhagavān Bhṛgu, 136
Bhagīratha, 29
Bhaṭṭāra Brahmā, 136
Bhaṭṭāra Guru, 53
Bhīma, 137
Bhūmijava, 30
Bhūtas, 11
Bosch, F.D.K., 50, 84
Brahmā, Lord, 89, 91
Brāhmanas, 27
Buddha, Lord, 82, 155
Bronze image of, 24
Buddhism, 43, 51, 82-83
Buddhist Jātakas, 22, 26
Buddhist literature, 22
Buddhist missionaries, 27
Buleleng kingdom, 68
Būwah-Rangga, 48

C

Casparis, C de, 46
Caste system, 77-78
Champā, princes, 42
Chaṇḍi Gunung-Kavi, 51
Chaṇḍi Jalatuṇḍa, 50
Chaṇḍi Kalasan, 45-46
Chaṇḍi monument, 5
Chandrabhayasiṁghavarmadeva, 48
Chatterji, B.R., 46
Chédok, Madĕ, 67
Chatur-Āśrama system, 111-114
Che-li-fo-che, 29
Chinese Buddhist, 30
Chinese chronicles, 23
Chinese culture, 20
Chou and Han period, 5
Chueh-lun Chou, 44
Chufan-chih, 53
Coédes, George, 20, 27, 58
Crucqhove, K. Ch., 6

D

Dalém Anom Sagéning, 58
Dalém di Madē, 58
Dalém dynasty, 58
Dalém Galgel, 61
Dalém Watu-Enggong, 58
Damais, L.C., 48
Dāna of Cow, 29
Dānavas, 21
Daśarath, 132
Denpasar dynasty, 65-67
Deutro-Malays, 2, 5
Deva Agung, 60, to
Deva Manggis, 60
Dhanādhirājalanchana, 53
Dharma, Lord, 51
Dharmavaṅsa, 49, 51
Dharmodayanavarmadeva, 49
Dipamātā, 29
Dipaṅkara Śrījñana, 30
Dongson Culture, 4-6
Droṇa, 137
Drupada, 137
Drupadi, 137
Dutch troops, 68-70
Dutt, R.C., 75

E

E. Evertsen, 4
Endrajayasiṃhavarmadeva, 48
Epic poetry, 130

F

Fah-hssiem, 23
Father-sky, 11
Fo-shih-pu-lo Chou, 44
Fu-nan, 42

G

Gajahmada, 55
Gajavāhana, 46
Gajayana of Dinoyo, 46
Gāndhāra, 23
Gaṇésa, Lord, 82, 93
Gelgel kingdom, 58-59
Gerini, G.E., 33
Gianyar kingdom, 67
Gokhale, 75
Gunapriyadharmapatnī, 49
Guṇaś, 76
Gupta style of sculpture, 155-157
Gusti Ngurah Gélogor, 62, 65
Gusti Ngurah Machan Gading, 62, 65

H

Hall, D.G.E., 21
Han dynasty, 23
Hartman, Corneluis, 58
Harṣavardhana, 28
Hayam-Wuruk, 57
Hindus, 4, 6-7, 10-11, 21,
    influences of, 28
Hināyāna school, 31
Hindu-Balinese society, 43
Hindu culture, 25-26, 35, 43
Hindu kingdom, last, 69-70
Hindu kingdom of Matarām, 45-46
Hindu movement, 26
Hindu traders, 22
Hinduisation, 28-29
    process of, 26-27
Hinduism, 2, 28, 35, 41-43, 51, 157
    emergence, 3
Hinduism, Balinese (see Balinese Hinduisms)
Ho-ling, 44
Holy water,
    preparation of the, 99-100
    purification of the, 104
H.R. Van Heekeren, 4
Hsin T'ang-shu, 35
Hyangning Hyang, 53

I

Indian ports, 22
Indo-Chinese peninsula, 20
Indonesia, 20, 27, 41
    five islands of, 1

  Hindu culture in, 3
  Hinduization in, 28
  Pallava script of, 25
Indonesian archipelago, 3
Indra, Lord, 31
Inter-caste marriage, 80-81
I-tsing, 30, 36
  records of, 43, 45

J

Janamejaya, 137
Java, 10-11, 41-42
  Hindu culture in, 25
Javadvīpa, 22
Jayasiṁhavarmadeva, 48
Jayastambha, 47
Jñānabhadra, 31

K

Kālidāsa, 22
Kalinga might, 28
Kāma and Rati, 94
Kāṇda, 145
Kanuruhan, 46
Karangasem kingdom, 46, 61
Karmas, 76
Karṇa, 137
Kauṇḍinya, 42
Kautilya, 22
Kavi language, 127, 129
Kavi mantra, 143
Kébo Iwa, 55
Kebon-Kopi, 31
Kern, 29
Kesarīvarmadeva, 47, 50
Kauṇḍinya, 42
Klungkung kingdom, 59, 60
Komoh and Lāwar, 7
Koravas, 137
Kṣatriya, 26, 42, 76, 80-81
  race, 45
  status of, 42
Kṛṣna Kapakisan, 58
Kṛtanagara, expedition of, 53
Kruyt, A.C., 6
K'un-l'un, 5
Kuśadvīpa, 22

L

Law books, 149-50
Levi, Sylvain, 44
Liang dynasty, 35
Literacy growth, 126
Lo ch'a chou, 36
Lontar Mārkandeya, 36
Lontar Sang Hyang Kamāhāyanikan, 87

M

Mahābhāratā
Mahāyana Buddhist, 24
Mahendradatta, 49-50
Majapahit rule in Bali, 56-57
Majumdar, R.C., 44, 133
Malayadvīpa, 22
Manjuśrīmūlakalpa, 36
Manuṣayajña, 106-107
Marakata, 51
Marriage
  forms of, 106-109
  inter, 49
  inter caste, 80-81
  royal, 49
Maula-Masuli Adityavarman, 55-56
Maula-Masuli Varmadeva, 56
Maurya, Chandragupta, 22
Māyādānava, 54
Megalithic culture, 45
Mengwi kingdom, 60-61
Migration theory, 28
Mérik Jambé, 62
Mo-ho-hsin, 44
Mo-lo-yu-Chou, 44
Moons, J.L., 44, 50
Moon of Pejeng, 12-13
Mother-Earth, 10-11

Mūlasarvāstivādanikāya, 45
Mūlavarman, 29

N

Nāgarī script, 25
Nālandā, contribution of, 45
Neuwenkamp, W.O.J., 6

O

Orissa, people from, 23-24

P

P. de Kot Angelino, 4
Padmāsana-shrine, 5
Painting, 15-16
Pakṣidāmār-Kurung, 10
Pallava script, 25-26
Pamechutan, Bhaṭṭāra Śakti, 63
Pamechutan dynasty, 63
Panaṅkarṇa, 32
Pañchasattva scrifice, 11
Paṇchatista mantra, 100
Pañchavali krama sacrifice, 11
Pāṇḍavas, 135-137
Pasung-Grigis, 55
Peninsula, 31
Penyāmblehan ceremony, practices of, 11
Permanent settlements, 10
Philippines, 20
Po-li Chou, 44
Pottery, 15
Prajāpati, 105
Prāṇa-pakṣi, 10
Pre-Hindu period, 5-6, 10
Pulakesin's conquest, 28
Purāṇa, 140-141
Pūrṇavarman dynasty, 30, 41
P.V. Von Steincallenfels, 4, 13

R

Raghuvaṁśa, 22
Rājadhirāja, 30
Rājanīti, 52
Rājarṣi, 31
Rākṣasas, 132
Rāma, Lord, 21, 132
Rāmāyana, 21, 129-132
Rās Māla, 24
Rāvana, 21
Religious beliefs
    ancestor-worship, 9-10
    animal worship, 12
    burial, 8-9
    father-sky, 11
    moon of Pejeng, 12-13
    mother-earth, 10-11
    soul-bird, 10
    spirit boat, 11-12
    teeth of the thunderbolt, 13-14
Religious ceremonies
    marriages, 107-109
    sacrifices, 105-106
Religious faith, 82
    Buddhism, 83-84
    Śaivism, 84-85
    Śaktism and Tāntrism, 85-86
    Śaura and Gaṇapatya cults, 86
    Vaiṣnavism, 86-87
Religious festivals, 109-110
Religions schools, 114-116
Ṛothpletz, W., 6
Ṛṣi Agastya, 22
Ṛṣi Jamadagni, 50
Ṛṣi Śṛṅgi, 132
Ṛṣibhojana, 9

S

Sacrifice of animals, 11
Śailendra rulers, 32
Śaivism, 31, 84-85, 92-93, 103, 115
    abodes of, 101
Śaka year, 151
Śakalendukiraṇaiśanaguṇadharmalakṣmīdharavijayottugadevi, 52
Śaktism and Tantrism, 85-86
Sañjaya, 31, 41-42, 45-46, 84

Samudragupta, 28
Sang Ratu Śrī Ugrasena, 47
Śankhadvīpa, 22
Saptarājya, 21
Sarkar, H.B., 27, 95
Śaura and Gaṇapatya cults, 86
Senāpatis, important role of, 46
Sīma, Queen, 31
Siṇḍok, 49
Singhasarī, 85
Sinhamaṇḍeva, 46
Sitā, 21
Śiva, Lord, 9, 82, 84, 90
Śiva-Buddha cult, 87
Social customs, 110-111
Soul-bird, 10
Spies, Walter, 6
Spirit-boat, 11-12
Śrāddha, 9
Śrī, 11
Śrī-pa-do-do-a-la-pa-mo, 23
Śrī Punangg Nandaya, 47
Śrīvijaya, 25, 29, 41-42, 49
Srokodan and Sambiran inscriptions, 47
Stotra literature, 143
Stutterheim, 48
Suddhodana, 42
Sūdras, 76-81
Sūdra-women, 81
Sugrīva, soldiers of, 21
Sui yang-ti, 43
Sultān Agung, 57, 59
Śuradvīpa, 52
Suvarṇadvipa and Svarṇabhūmī, 21,

T

Tabnan kingdom, 62
Tabanendravarmadeva, 48
T'ang dynasty, 31
Tan-tan Chou, 44
Tantra, ethics and philosophy, 141
Tantrīs, 145-146
Tantrism and Śaktism, 85-86
Teeth of the thunderbolt, 13
Tégéh-Kori dynasty, 62
Tibeto-Mongoloid feature, 2
Tilaparvata, 29
Toraja people, 2
Trimūrti, 89

U

Udayana, 49-50
Uttarakāṇda, 133-134

V

Vaiśampāyana, 137
Vaiṣṇavism, 86
Vaiśyas, 76
Valajaya Kṛtaningrāt, 54
Vaprakeśvara, 29
Varāhadvīpa, 22
Varāhamihira, 150
Varmadeva dynasty, 54
Varṇa system in India, 75-77
Vijayamahādevī, 49
Viṣṇu, Lord, 51, 82, 89, 92-93
Vaiṣṇavism, 86
Viśvāmitra, Mahaṛsi, 80, 132
Vogel, J. Ph, 25
Vyāsa, Mahaṛsi, 134

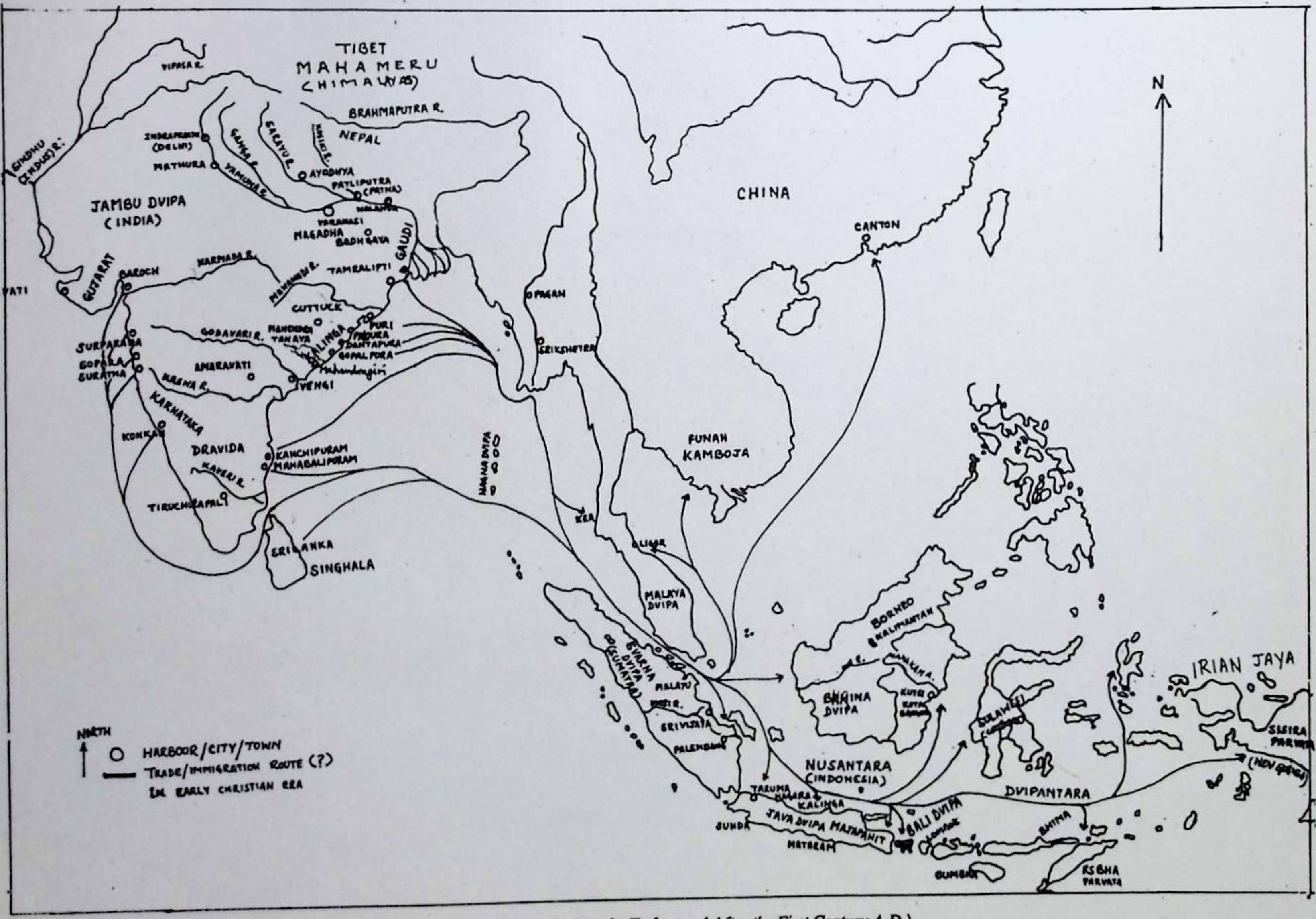
W

Wariga, 150
Wat Phu, 5
Woltérs, O.W., 44

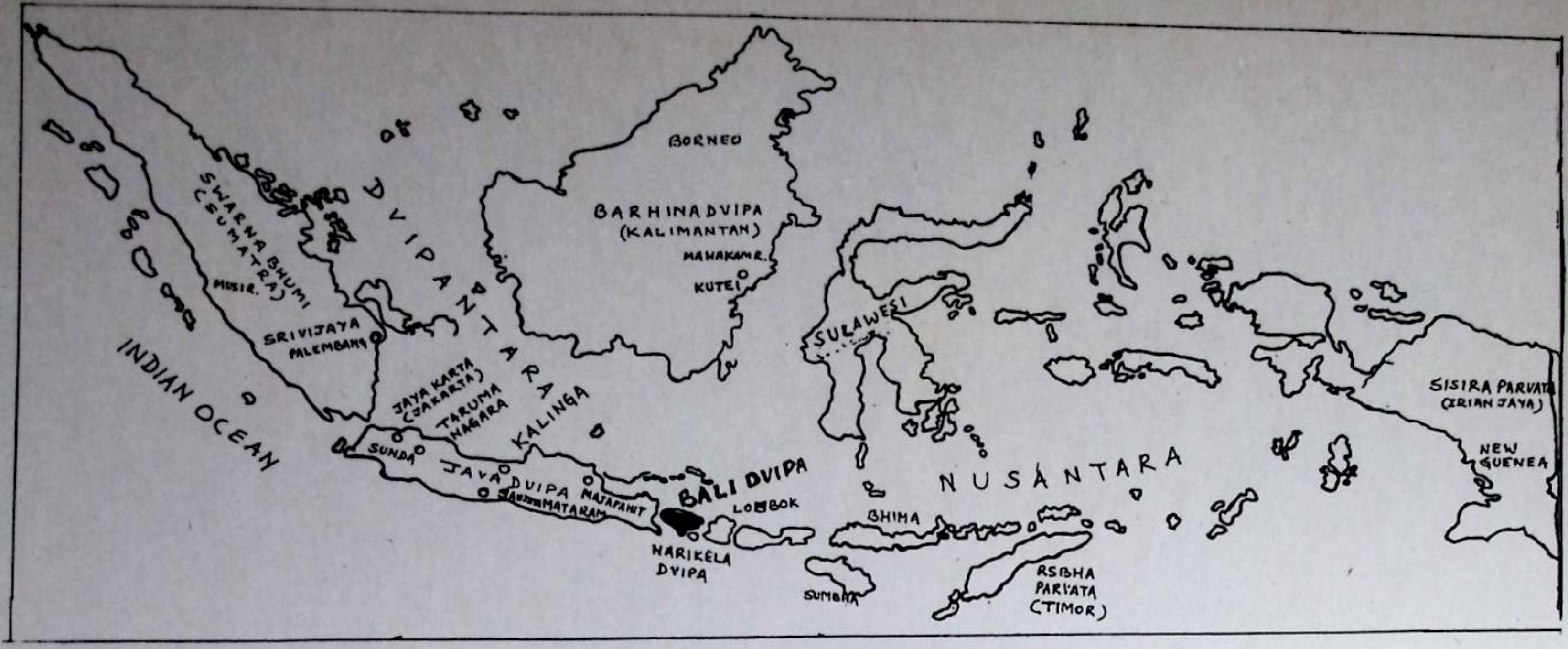
Y

Yudhiṣṭhira, 29, 76
Yunuan people, 56, 27
Yūpa, 27, 29

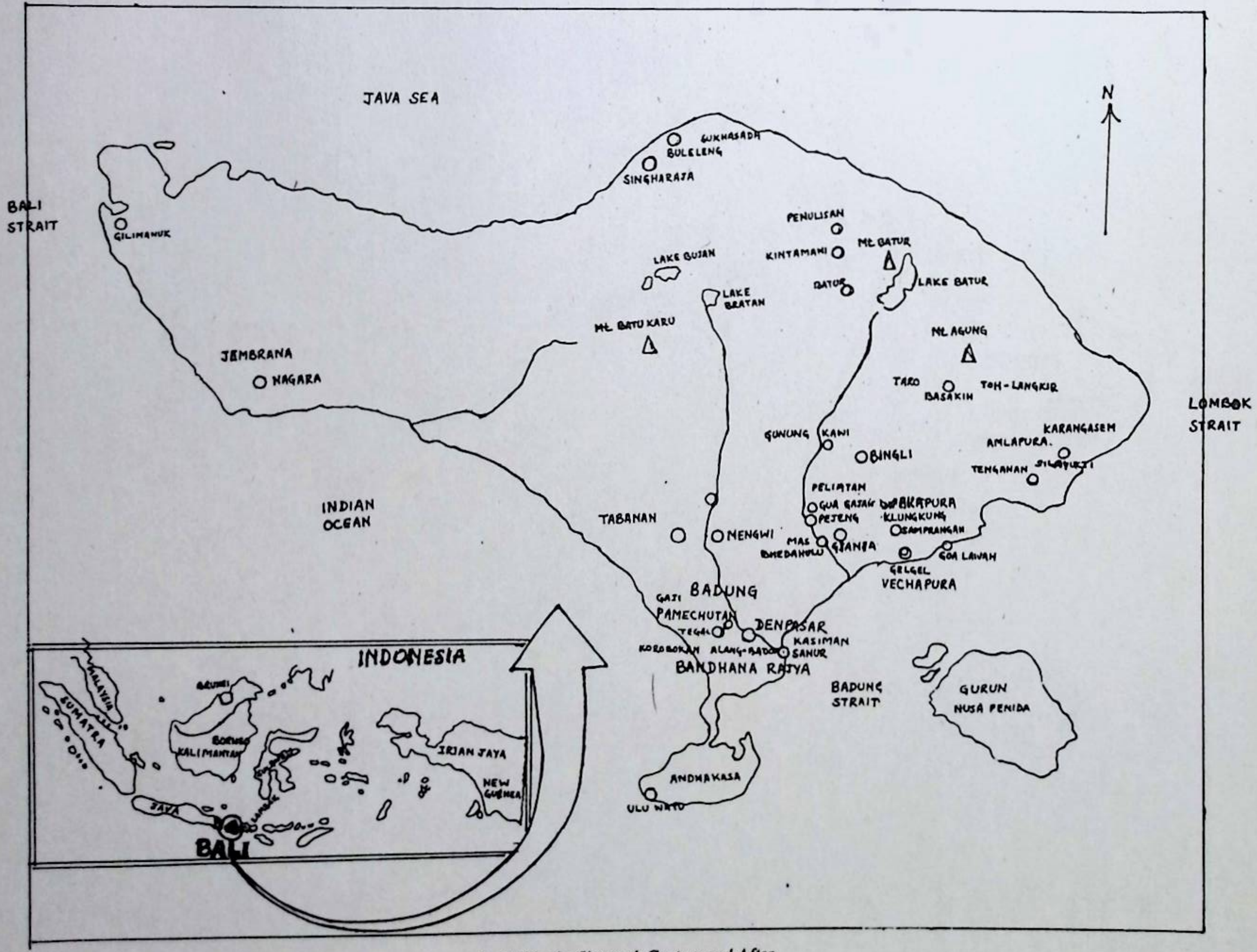
Maps and Transliteration Scheme


TIBET
MAHAMERU
(HIMALAYAS)
BRAHMAPUTRA R.
NEPAL
VIPASA R.
SINDHU (INDUS) R.
INDRAPRASTHA (DELHI)
MATHURA
GANGA R.
YAMUNA R.
SARAYU R.
KAUSIKI R.
AYODHYA
PATLIPUTRA (PATNA)
NALANDA
VARANASI
MAGADHA
BODH GAYA
GAUDI
TAMRALIPTI
JAMBU DVIPA (INDIA)
GUJARAT
BAROCH
VATI
NARMADA R.
MAHANADI R.
CUTTUCK
MAHENDRAGIRI
TANAYA
KALINGA
PURI
PITHURA
DANTAPURA
GOPALPURA
Mahendragiri
GODAVARI R.
SURPARAKA
GOPARA
SURATHA
AMARAVATI
KRSNA R.
VENGI
KARNATAKA
KONKAN
DRAVIDA
KANCHIPURAM
MAHABALIPURAM
KAVERI R.
TIRUCHIRAPALI
SRI LANKA
SINGHALA
NAGNA DVIPA
PAGAN
SRIKSHETRA
KRA
LIGAR
CHINA
CANTON
FUNAN
KAMBOJA
MALAYA DVIPA
SVARNA DVIPA (SUMATRA)
MALAYU
MUSI R.
SRIVIJAYA
PALEMBANG
BORNEO
KALIMANTAN
MAHAKAMA.
KUTEI
BAHINA DVIPA
SULAWESI
NUSANTARA (INDONESIA)
TARUMA
KALINGA
JAVA DVIPA MAJAPAHIT
SUNDA
MATARAM
BALI DVIPA
LOMBOK
BHIMA
SUMBA
RSBHA PARVATA
DVIPANTARA
IRIAN JAYA
SISIRA PARVATA
(NEW GUINEA)
N
NORTH
○ HARBOOR/CITY/TOWN
TRADE/IMMIGRATION ROUTE (?) IN EARLY CHRISTIAN ERA

1. *Hirdus' Route to Indonesia (Before and After the First Century A.D.)*


BORNEO
BARHINADVIPA
(KALIMANTAN)
MAHAKAM R.
KUTEI
SWARNA BHUMI
(SUMATRA)
MUSIR.
SRIVIJAYA
PALEMBANG
DVIPANTARA
INDIAN OCEAN
JAYA KARTA
(JAKARTA)
TARUMA
NAGARA
KALINGA
SUNDA
JAVA DVIPA
MATARAM
MAJAPAHIT
BALI DVIPA
LOMBOK
NARIKELA
DVIPA
SULAWESI
BHIMA
SUMBA
NUSANTARA
RSBHA
PARVATA
(TIMOR)
SISIRA PARVATA
(IRIAN JAYA)
NEW
GUENEA

2. Indonesia in the Beginning of First Century and After.

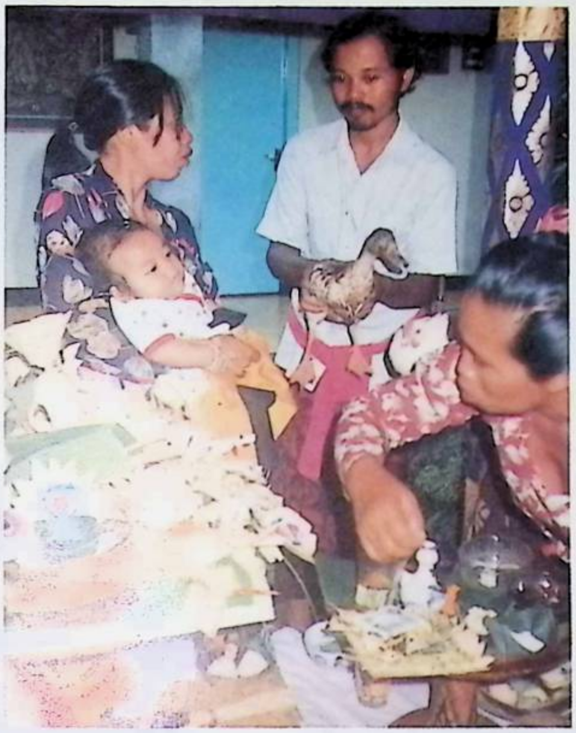

JAVA SEA
N
BALI STRAIT
GILIMANUK
SUKHASADA
BULELENG
SINGHARAJA
PENULISAN
KINTAMANI
Mt. BATUR
LAKE BATUR
BATUR
LAKE BUJAN
LAKE BRATAN
Mt. BATU KARU
Mt. AGUNG
JEMBRANA
NAGARA
TARO
BASAKIH
TOH-LANGKIR
LOMBOK STRAIT
KARANGASEM
AMLAPURA.
TENGANAN
SILAYUKTI
GUNUNG KAWI
BINGLI
PELIATAN
GUA GAJAH
PEJENG
KLUNGKUNG
SAMPRANGAN
INDIAN OCEAN
TABANAN
MENGWI
MAS
BHEDAHULU
GIANJA
GOA LAWAH
GELGEL
VECHAPURA
BADUNG
GAJI
PAMECHUTAN
TEGAL
DENPASAR
KASIMAN
SANUR
KOROBOKAN
ALANG-BADON
BANDHANA RAJYA
BADUNG STRAIT
GURUN
NUSA PENIDA
ANDHAKASA
ULU WATU
INDONESIA
MALAYSIA
SUMATRA
BRUNEI
BORNEO
KALIMANTAN
JAVA
BALI
IRIAN JAYA
NEW GUINEA

3. Bali in the Sixteenth Century and After.

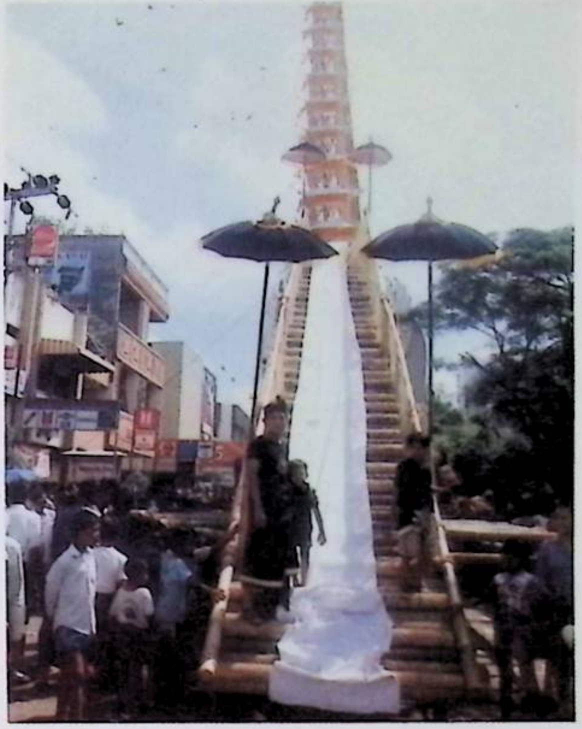
ALPHABET ARRANGED IN THE ORDER OF THE DEVANAGARI SCRIPT

ENGLISH	SANSKRIT	BALINESE	MALAYALAM	TAMIL	ENGLISH	SANSKRIT	BALINESE	MALAYALAM	TAMIL
Ka	क	ᬓ	ക	க	Dha	ध	ᬥ	ധ	–
Kha	ख	ᬔ	ഖ	–	Na	न	ᬦ	ന	ன
Ga	ग	ᬕ	ഗ	ங	Pa	प	ᬧ	പ	ப
Gha	घ	ᬖ	ഘ	–	Pha	फ	ᬨ	ഫ	–
Ṅa	ङ	ᬗ	ങ	–	Ba	ब	ᬩ	ബ	–
Ca	च	ᬘ	ച	ச	Bha	भ	ᬪ	ഭ	–
Cha	छ	ᬙ	ഛ	–	Ma	म	ᬫ	മ	ம
Ja	ज	ᬚ	ജ	ஜ	ya	य	ᬬ	യ	ய
Jha	झ	ᬛ	ഝ	–	Ra	र	ᬭ	ര	ர
Ña	ञ	ᬜ	ഞ	ஞ	La	ल	ᬮ	ല	ல
Ta	ट	ᬝ	ട	ட	Va	व	ᬯ	വ	வ
Tha	ठ	ᬞ	ഠ	–	Śa	श	ᬰ	ശ	–
Da	ड	ᬟ	ഡ	–	Ṣa	ष	ᬱ	ഷ	ஷ
Dha	ढ	ᬠ	ഢ	–	Sa	स	ᬲ	സ	ஸ
Ṇa	ण	ᬡ	ണ	ண	Ksa	क्ष	ᬓ᭄ᬱ	ക്ഷ	க்ஷ
Ta	त	ᬢ	ത	த	Tra	त्र	ᬢ᭄ᬭ	ത്ര	–
Tha	थ	ᬣ	ഥ	–	Jna	ज्ञ	ᬚ᭄ᬜ	–	–
Da	द	ᬤ	ദ	–	Ha	ह	ᬳ	ഹ	ஹ

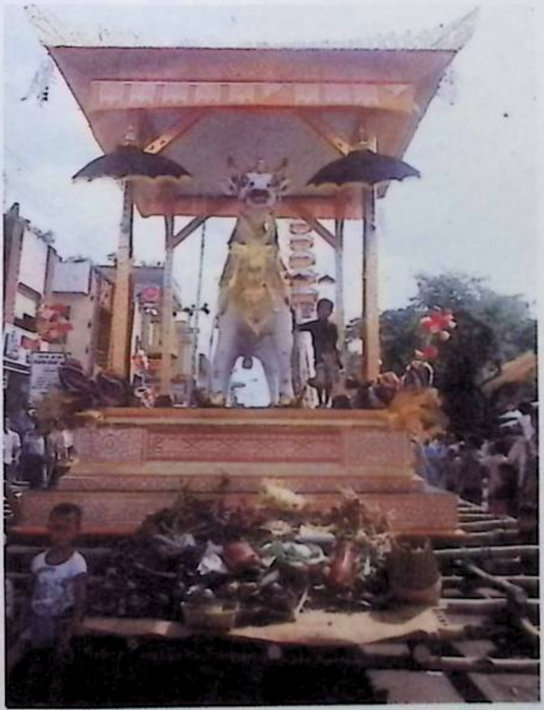
Plates



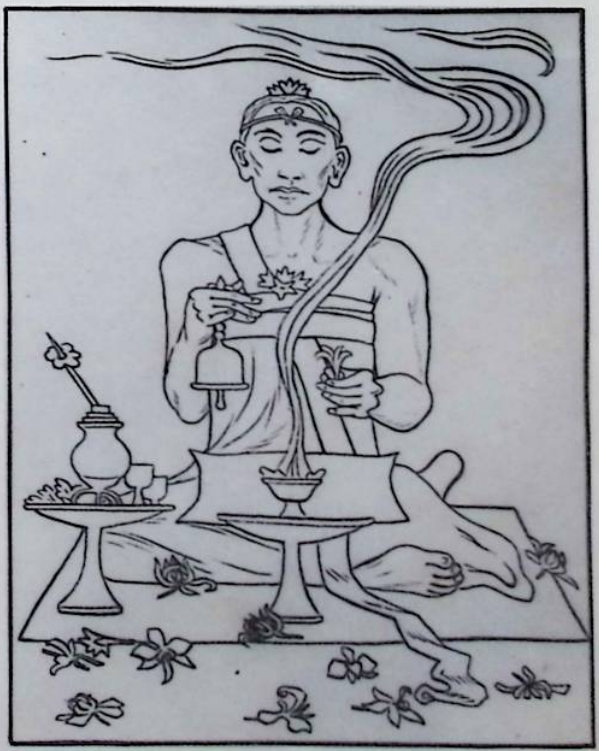
1. Three month ceremony. This ceremony is performed after the new born is three months old



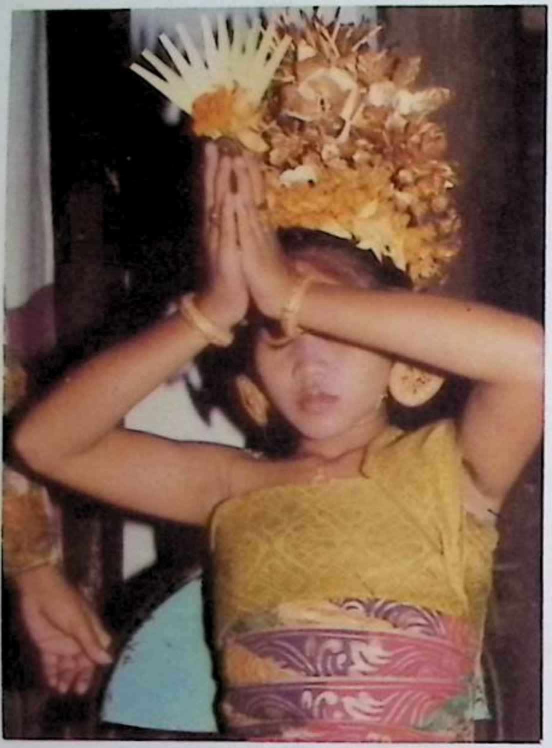
2. Cremation ceremony performed in a gorgeous style. The Balinese cremation rites are particularly famous for their cremation towers which are exceptionally high



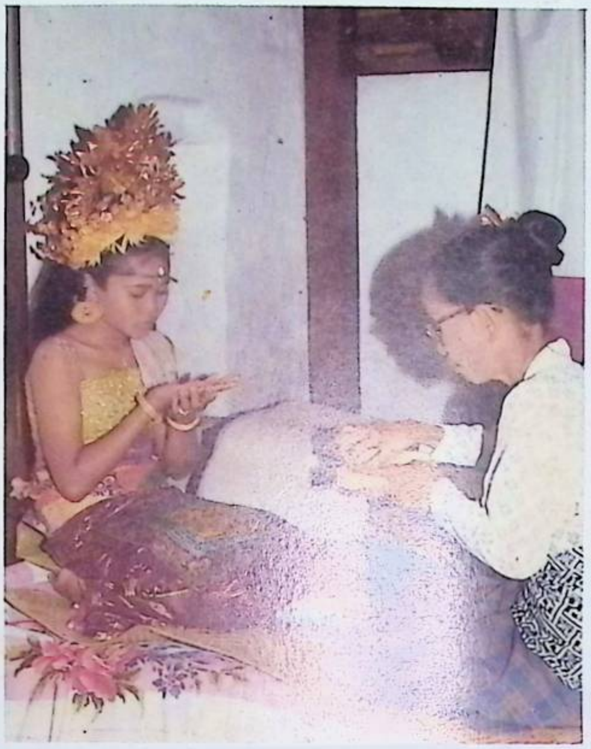
3. Cremation ceremony—Lambu (bull) Sarcopagoes



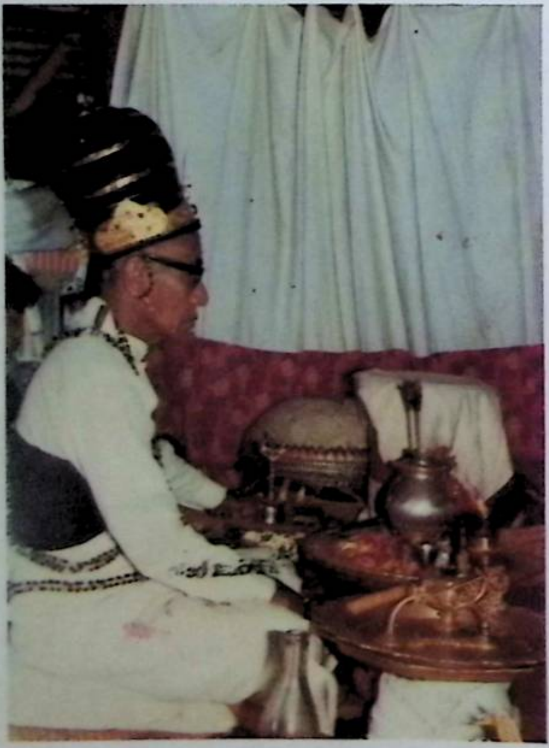
4. A picture of a Śiva High-Priest performing Pooja. On his forehead is tied, the holy Kusa while his hair are tied in a knot over his head



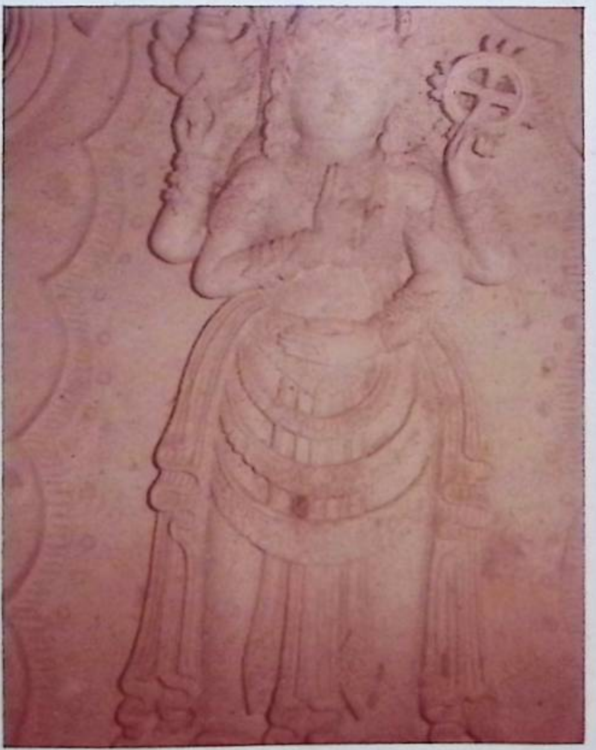
5. A girl robed in traditional religious attire performing Pooja



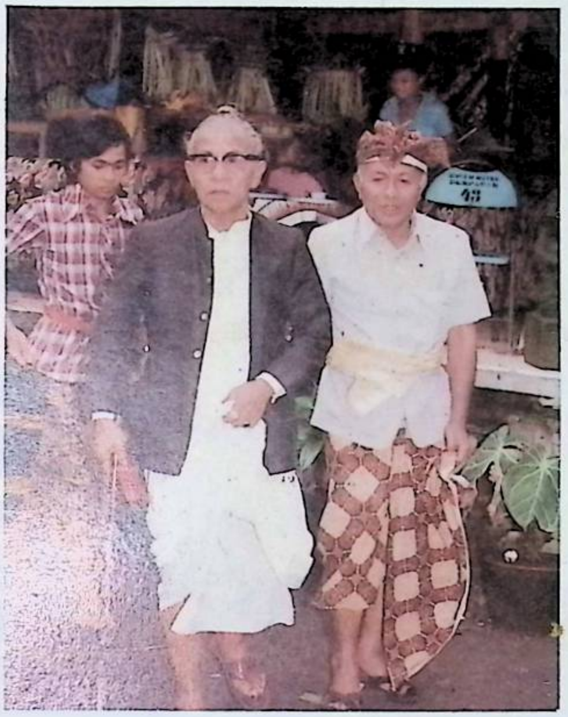
6. A girl being initiated by the padanta Stri (Brahmani) at the time of the Rajaswala ceremony



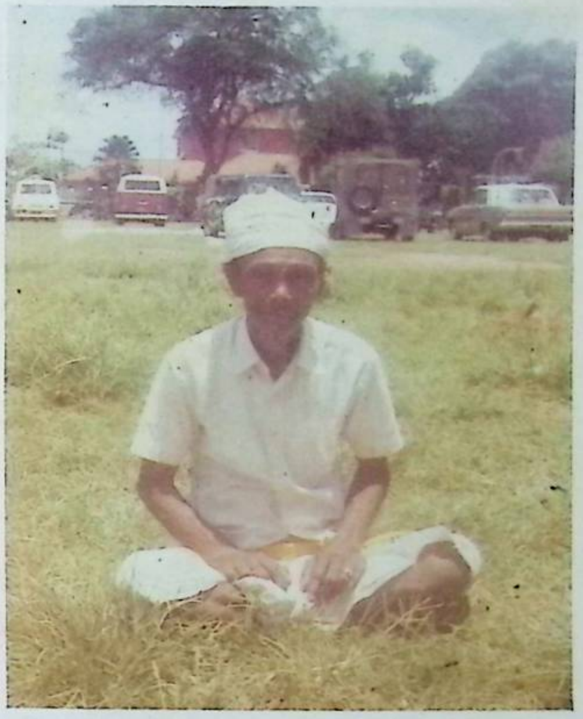
7. A Śiva High-Priest performing Pooja while sitting in 'Padmasana' In front of him is placed the Pooja Samagri



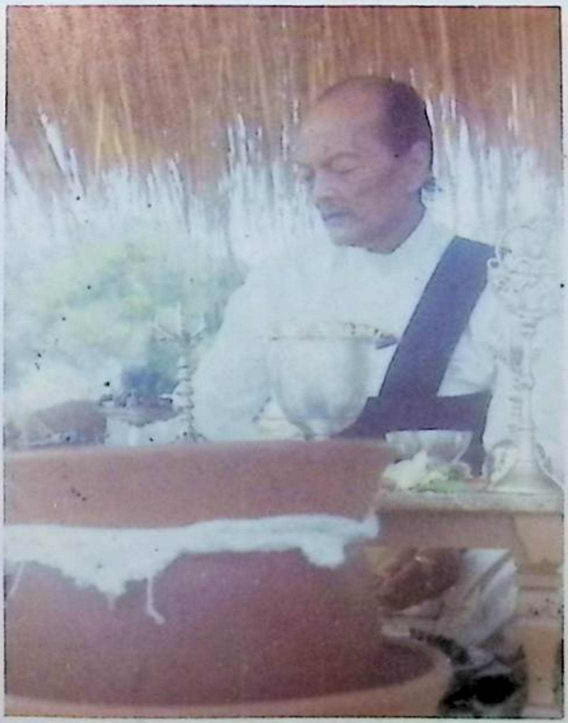
8. Sandstone carving of Lord Viṣṇu with the Chakra in his hand



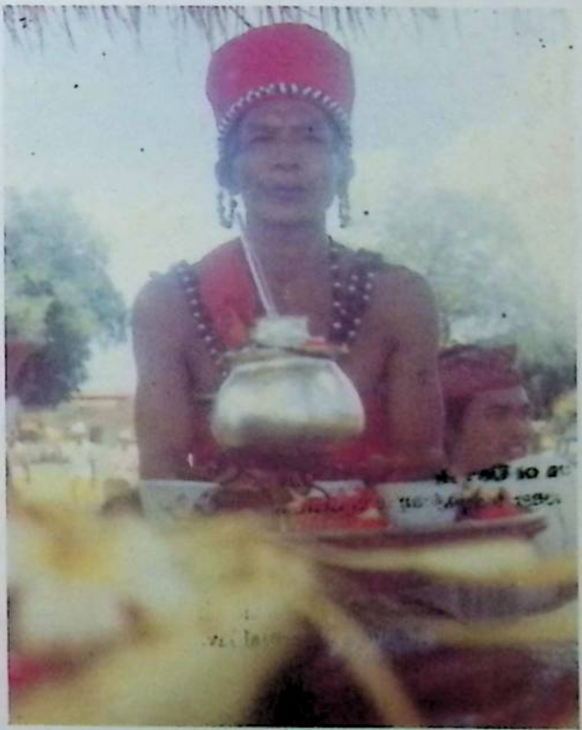
9. A Siva High-Priest before the Pooja starts.



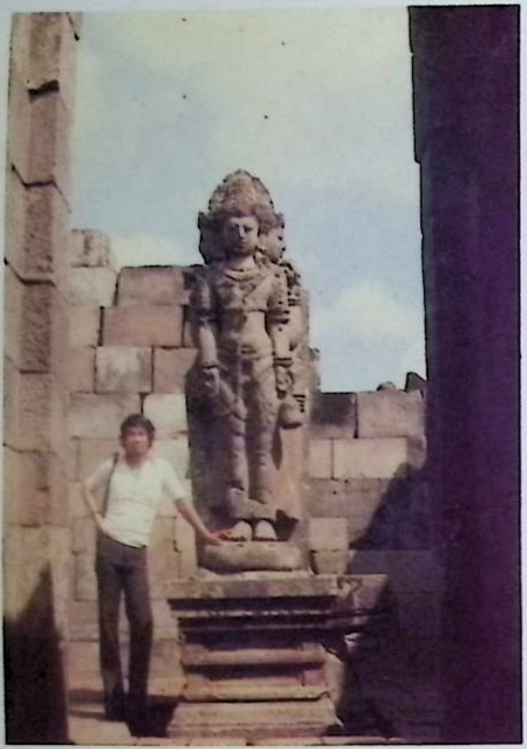
10. A village Priest, a Pemangku



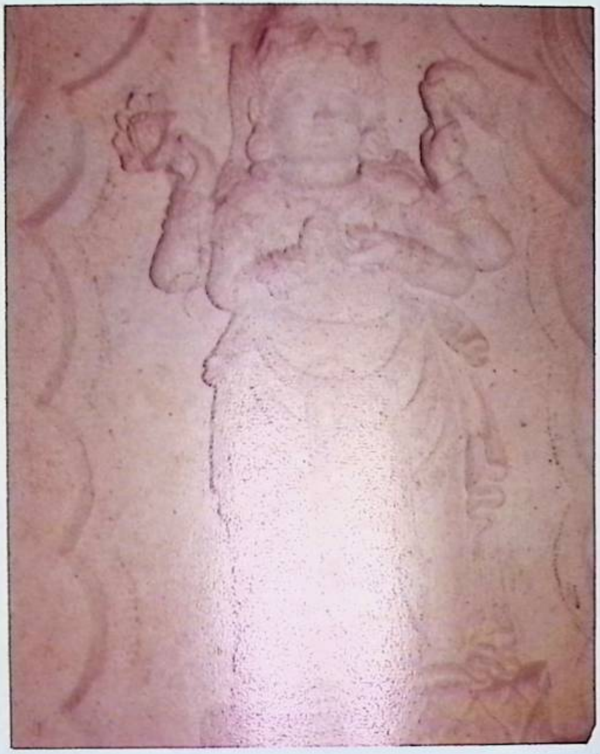
11. A Mahayanist Buddhist Priest performing Pooja



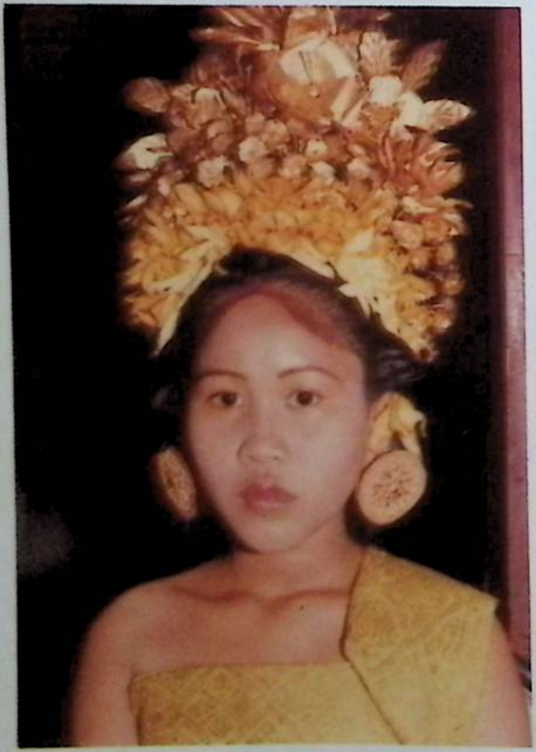
12. A Ṛṣi Bhujanga, the Priest of the Senggu Clan



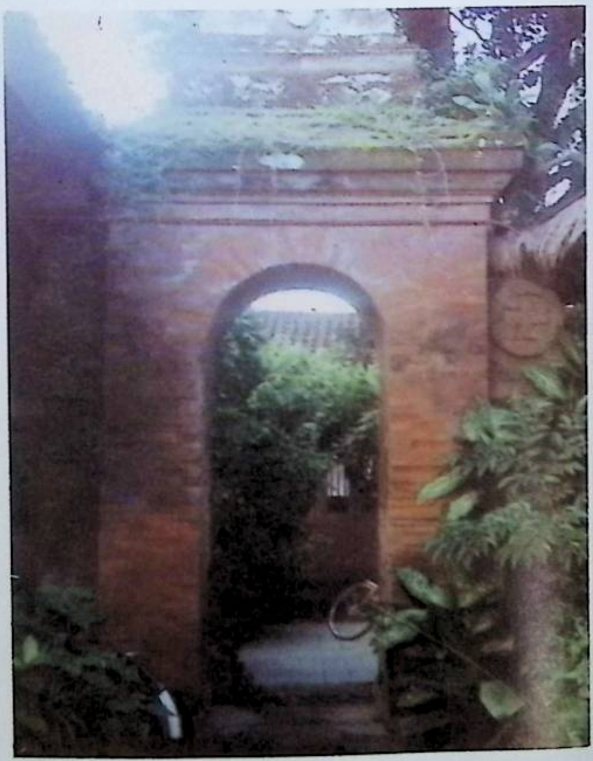
13. The statue of God Bramhā inside the Bramhā shrine in the Prambanan temple in Central Java



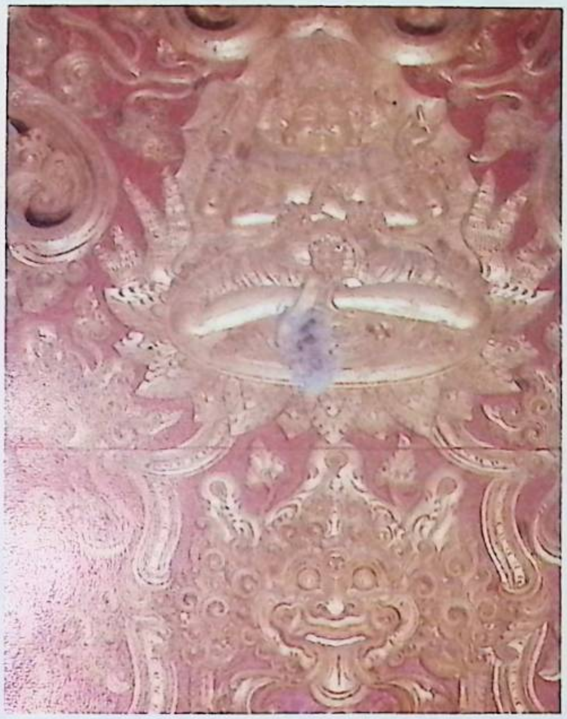
14. Sandstone carving of Lord Bramhā with the lotus in his hand



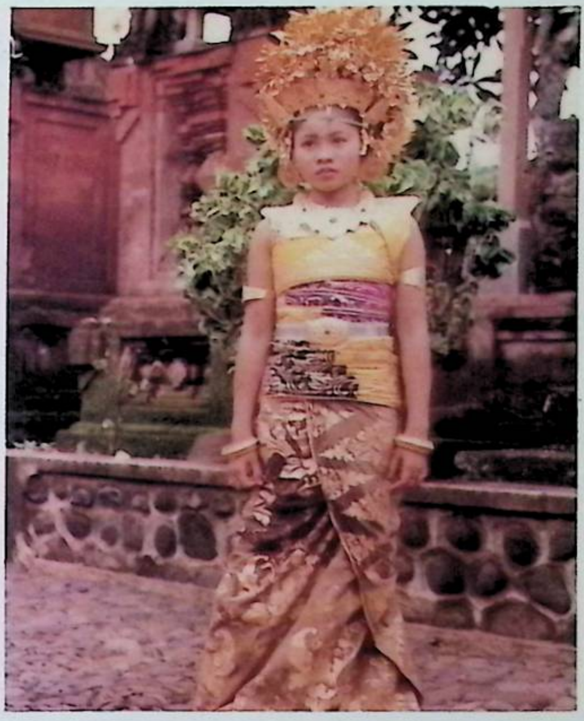
15. The traditional ceremonial dress used by all Hindu women



16. The Swastika sign marked at the entrance of High-caste Hindu House-holds

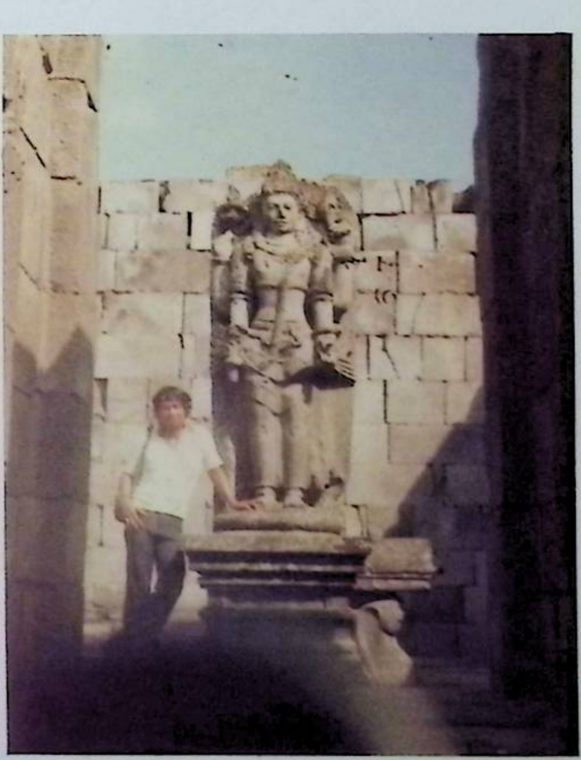


17. A picture from the Gerenceng family temple (Griha-devata) showing wooden carvings of Lord Śiva, painted in Golden colour

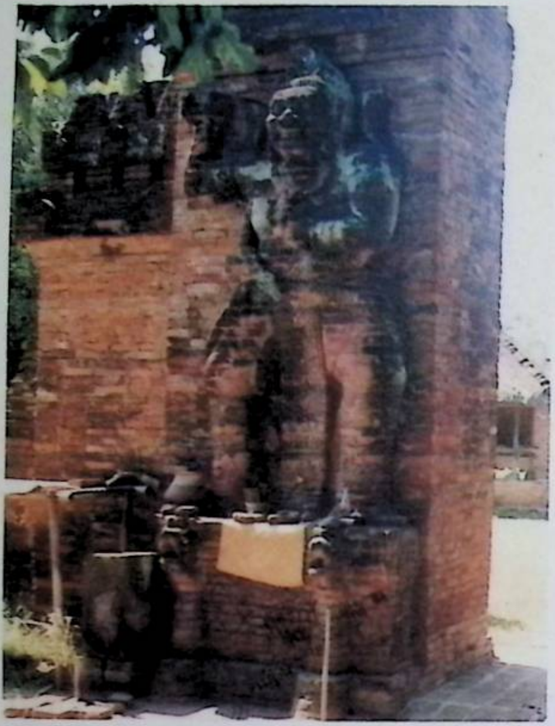


18. The traditional ceremonial dress for the caste Hindu women. The crown so prominent in the picture, is made of gold

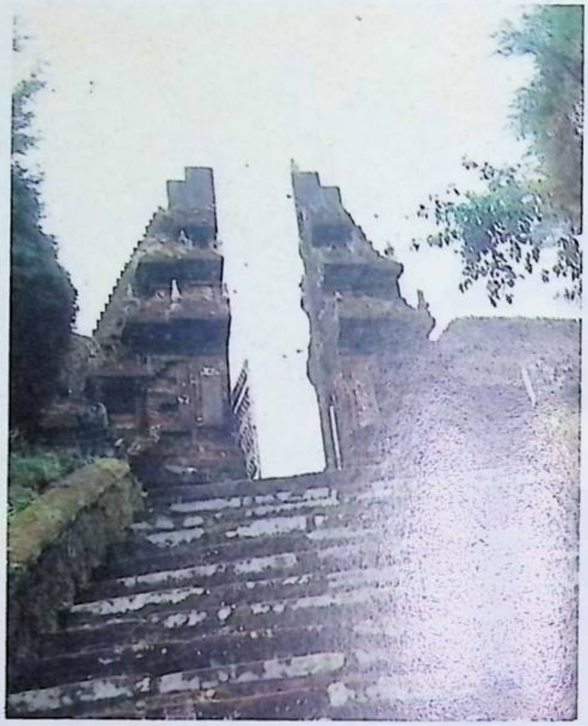
19. The former King of the Pamechuttan dynasty Late Rājadevatā Ida Anak Agung Chakorda Ngurah Gedé Pamechutan



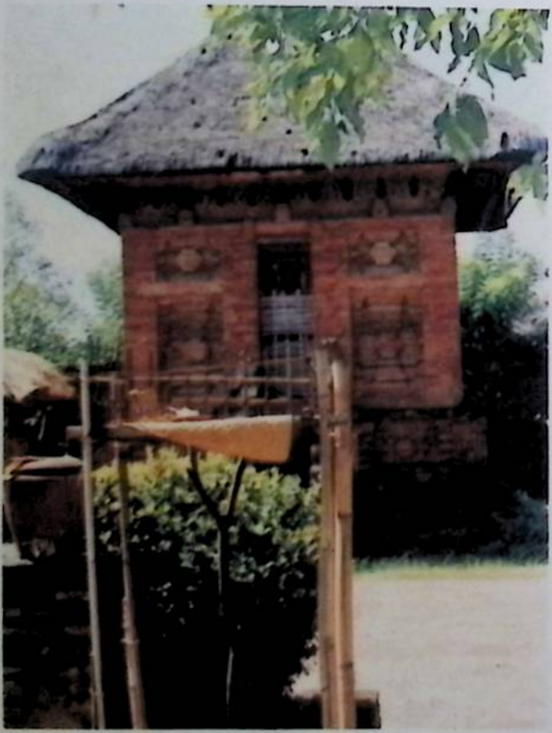
20. The image of God Viṣṇu inside the Viṣṇu shrine in the Prambanan tempel in Central Jawa



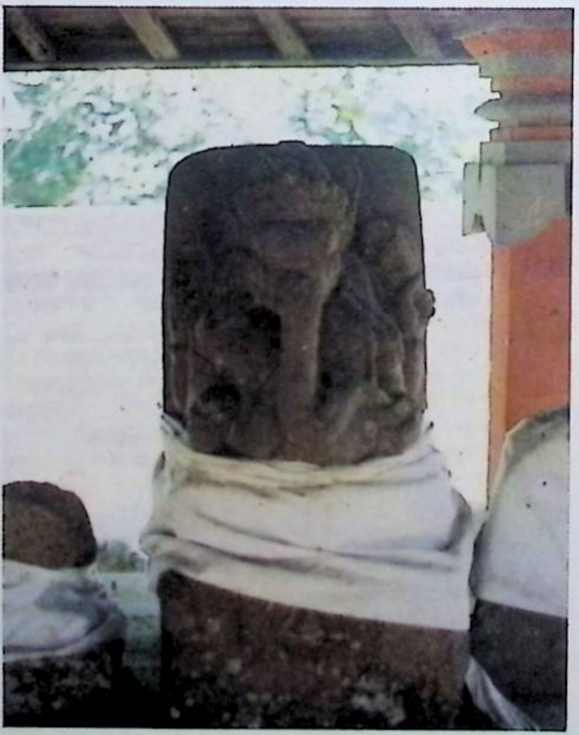
21. Bhīma-image



22. Chandi Bentar (split-gate)



23. Gedong-shrine



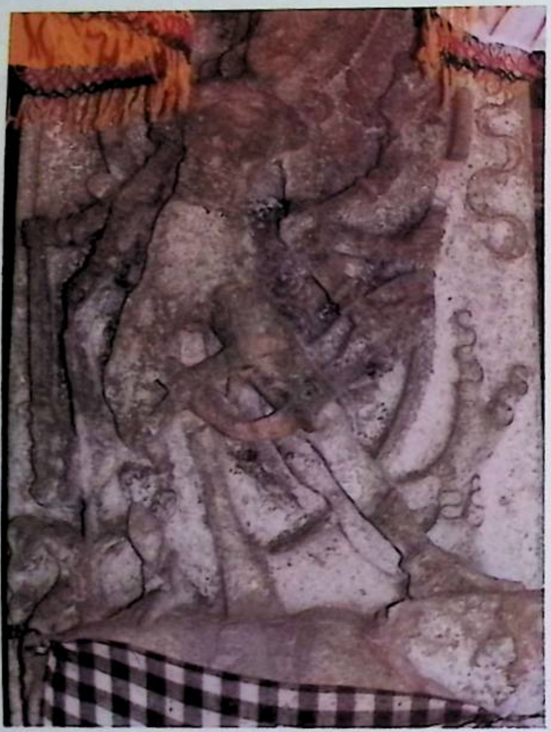
24. Ganeśha

25. A devotee receiving the holy water after the Pooja

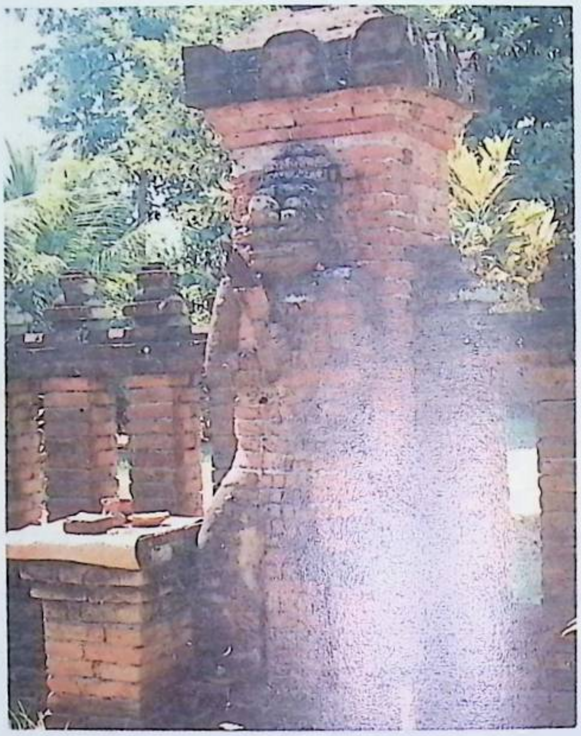
26. Bedugul-shrine

27. A Śiva High-Priest engaged in Samadhi. A 'Trishula' is clearly visible on his crown

28. Bhattari Mandul

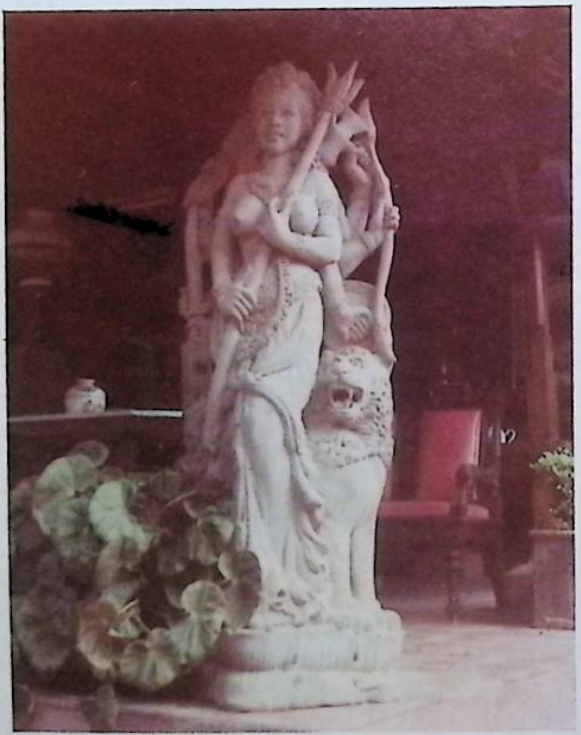


29. Portrait of statue of Mahendraduttā as Durgā at Kutri

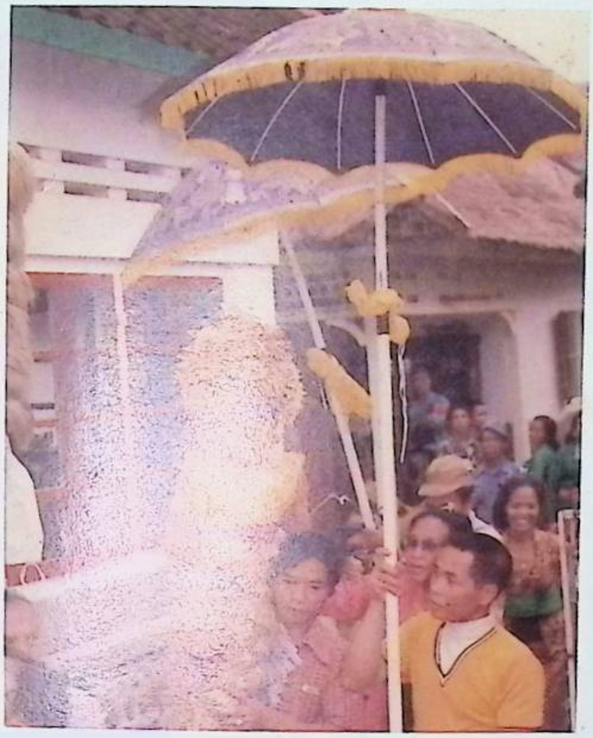


30. A statue of rākṣasa

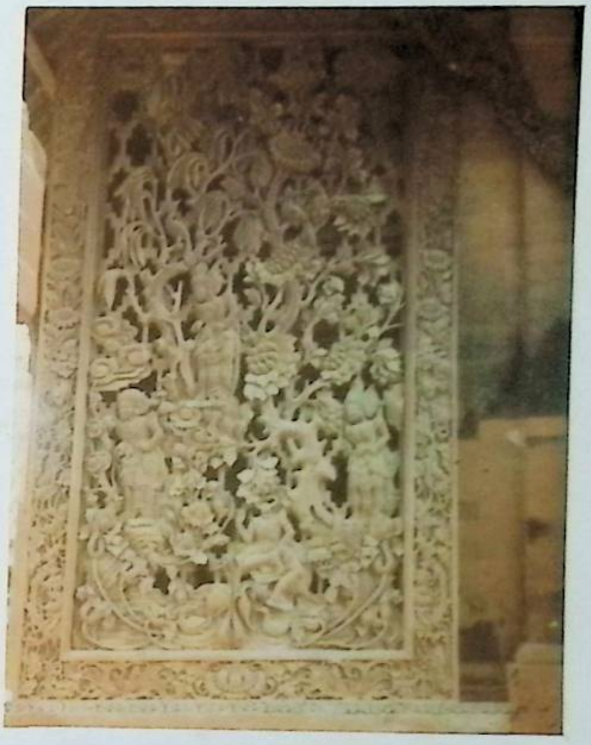
31. Prithivi-shrine



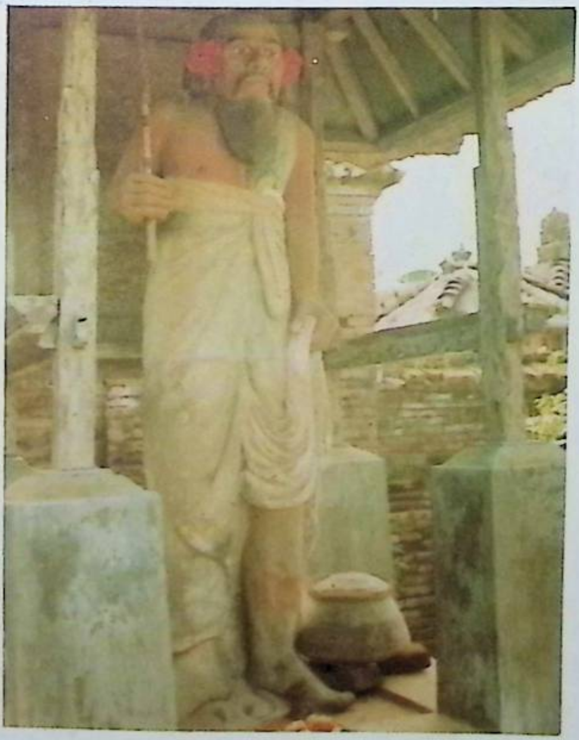
32. A modern style statue of Goddess Durga



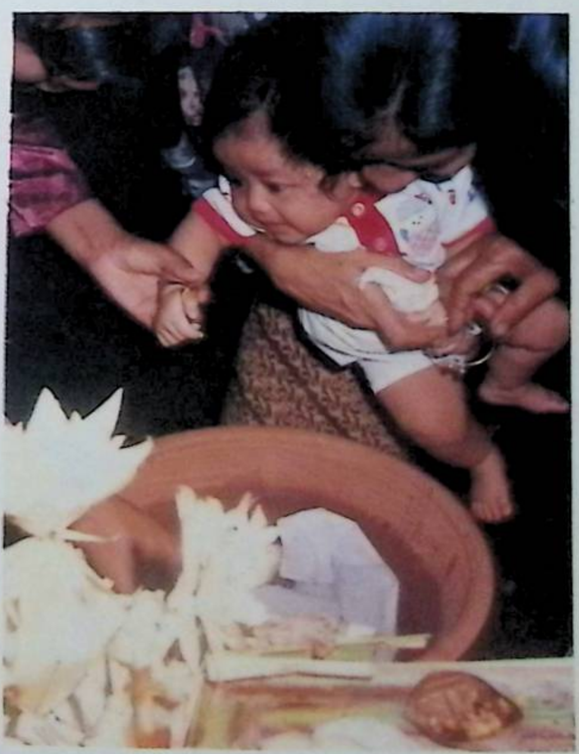
33. Tooth filling ceremony. The picture shows a caste Hindu girl being carried by a common person to the traditional place where this ceremony is performed. An umbrella is hoisted over her



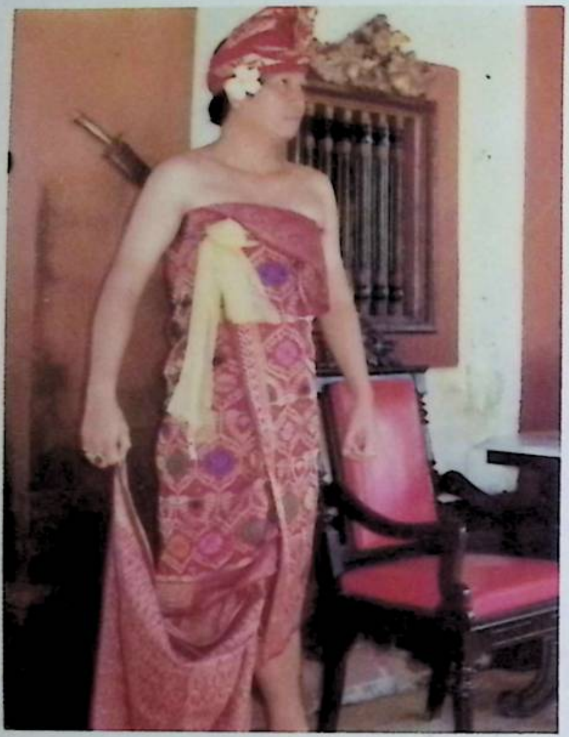
34. A wooden carving in a temple. The story depicted in the carving belongs to the Ādiparva (Mahābhārata) and the episode is that of Lord Viṣṇu cutting the throat of demon Rahu



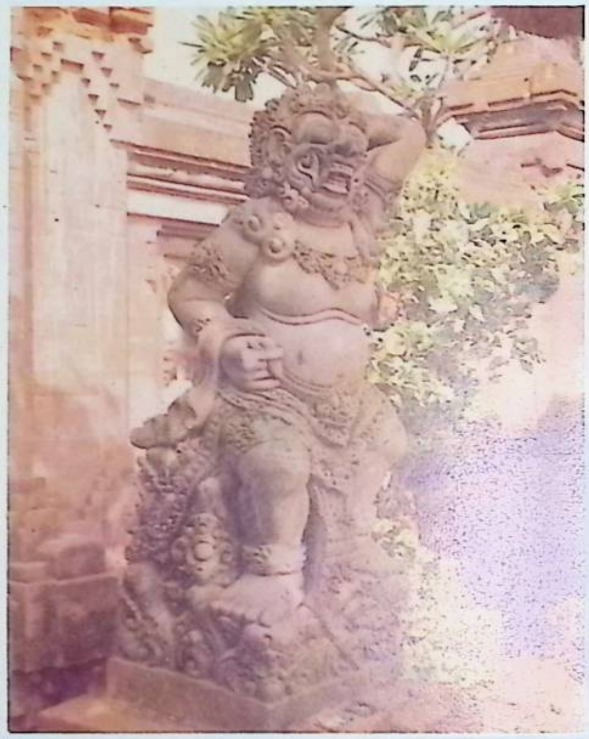
35. The statue of Lord Indra with a whip, symbolic of the Vajra, in his hand. People generally believe it to be the statue of Mahārāja Bhaṭṭāra Shakti the founder of the Pamechuttan dynasty



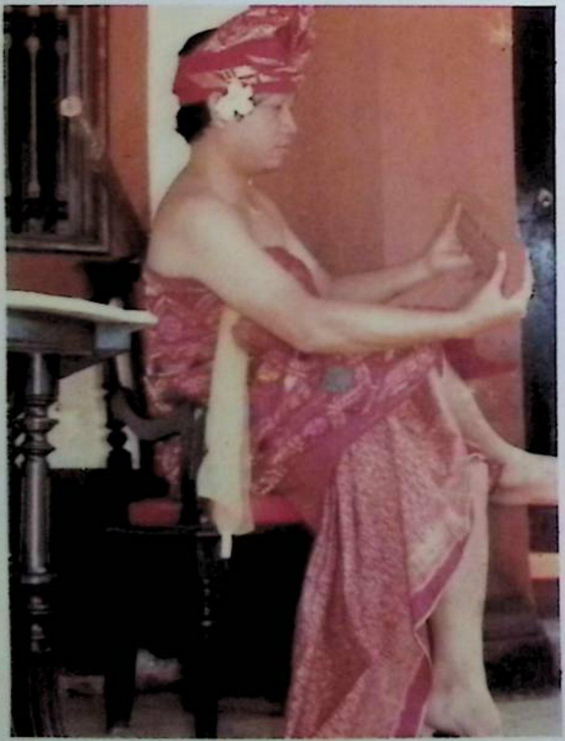
36. The new born baby, as it attains the age of three months, is brought out of the home made to touch the earth given solid food for the first time. (Annaprāsana ceremony)



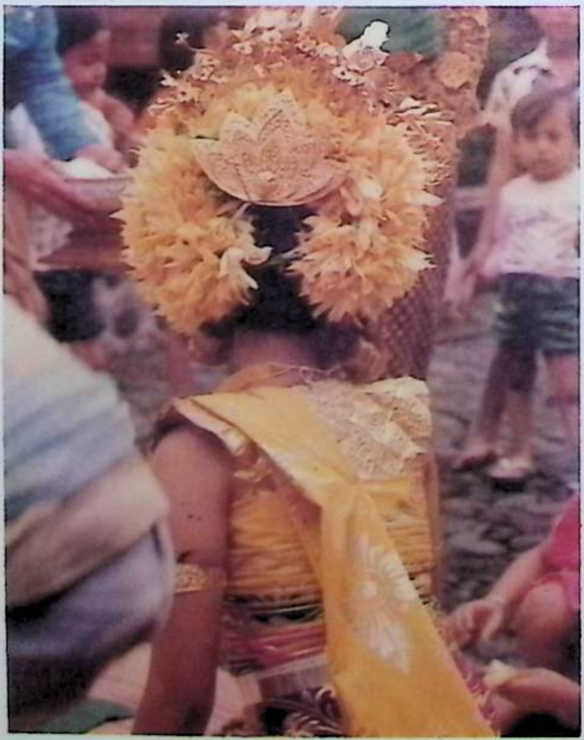
37. The traditional ceremonial dress for caste Hindu males



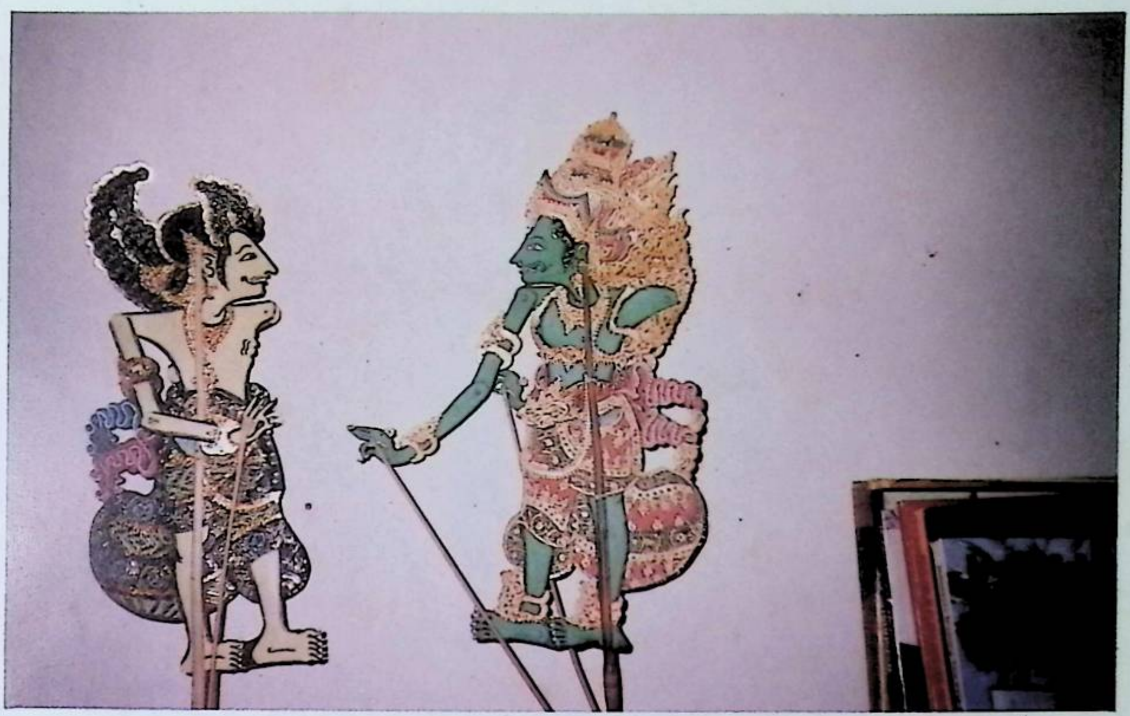
38. The statue of the Dvarapala infront of a temple



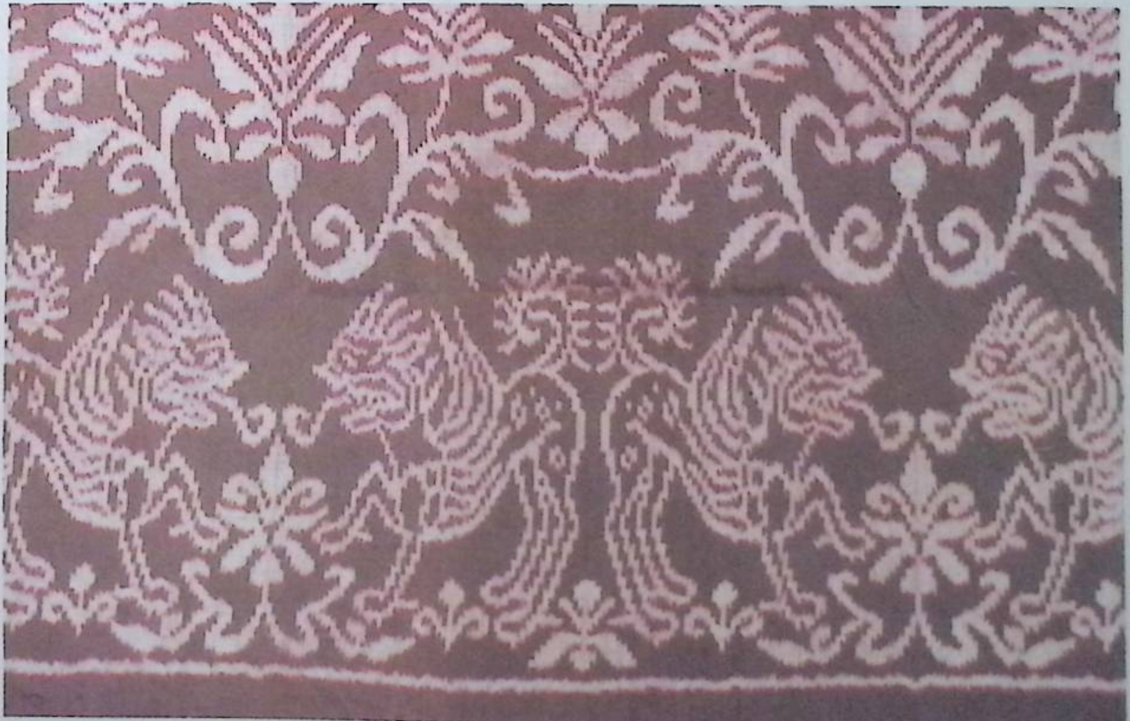
39. A Balinese reading the Holy Rāmāyaṇa (written on palm-leaves)



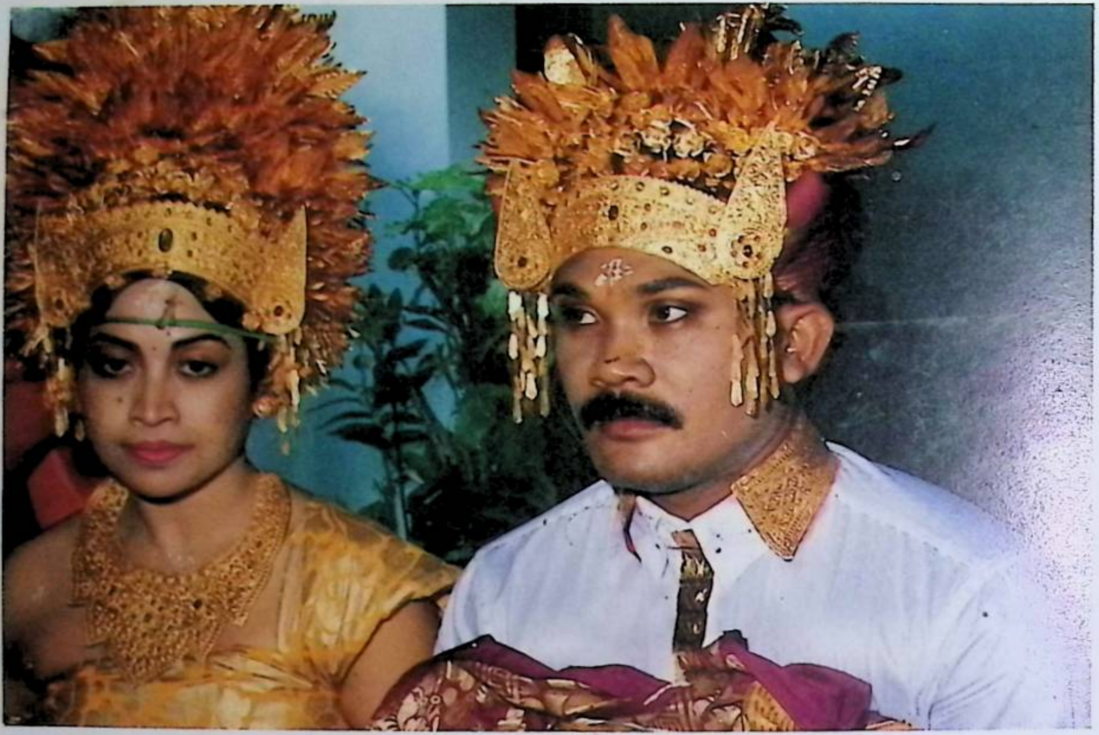
40. A Balinese Ballet Dancer



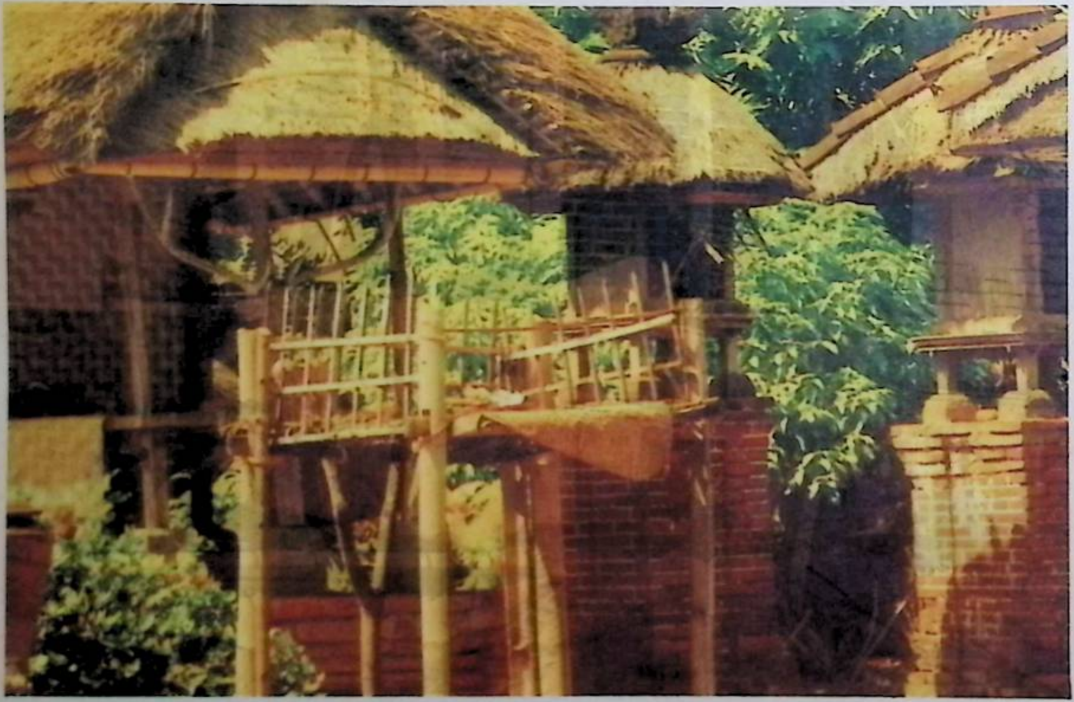
41. Puppet show: Arjuna (left) and Kṛṣṇa (right)



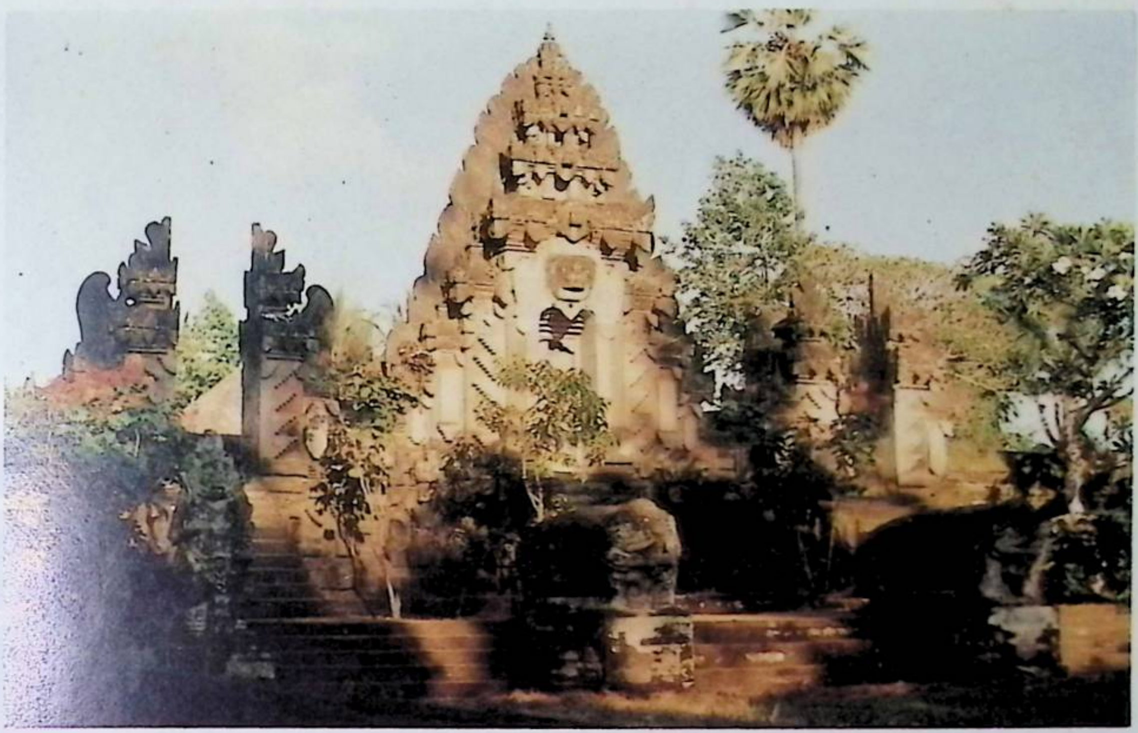
42. The Patola design woven in cloth



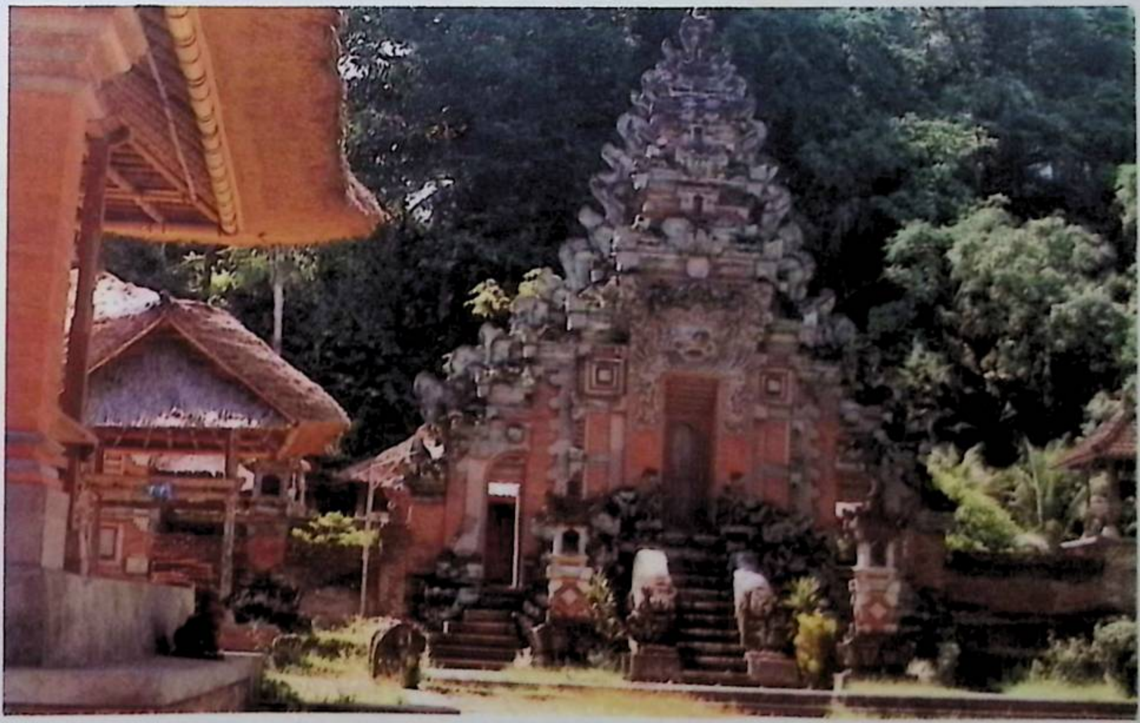
43. Wedding ceremony.



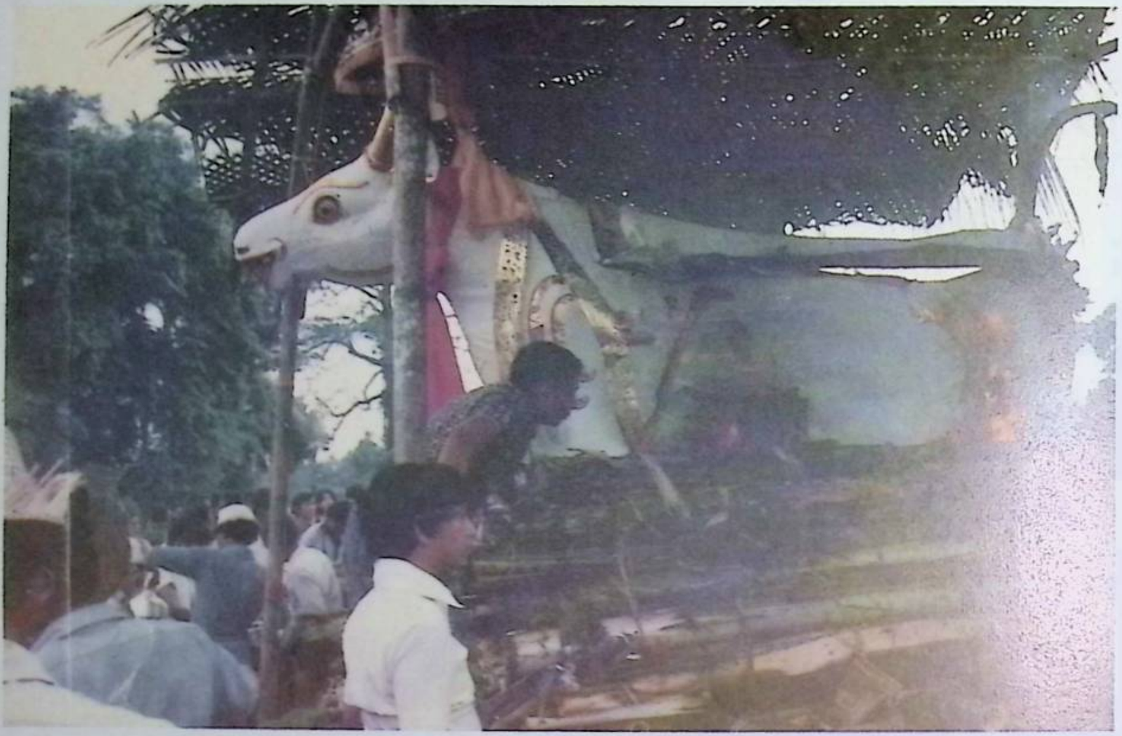
44. Sanggar Surya-shrine



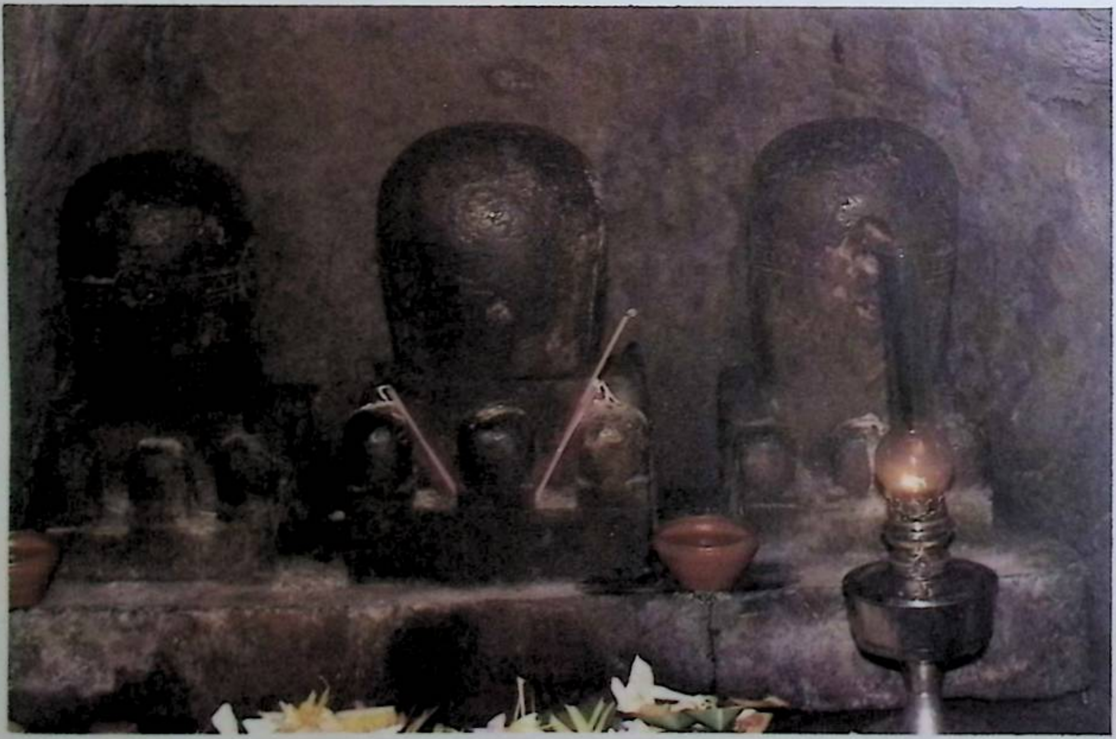
45. Main gate to a temple



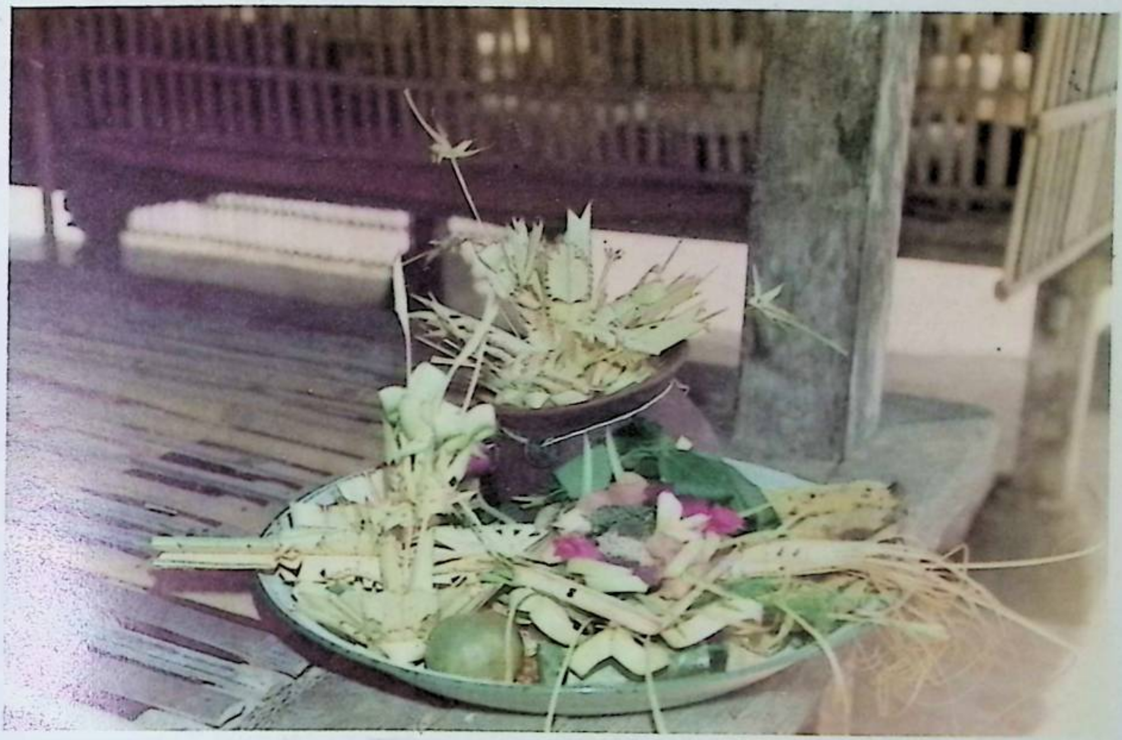
46. Kori Agung (Gopuram) the Main entrance
of a temple at Bali



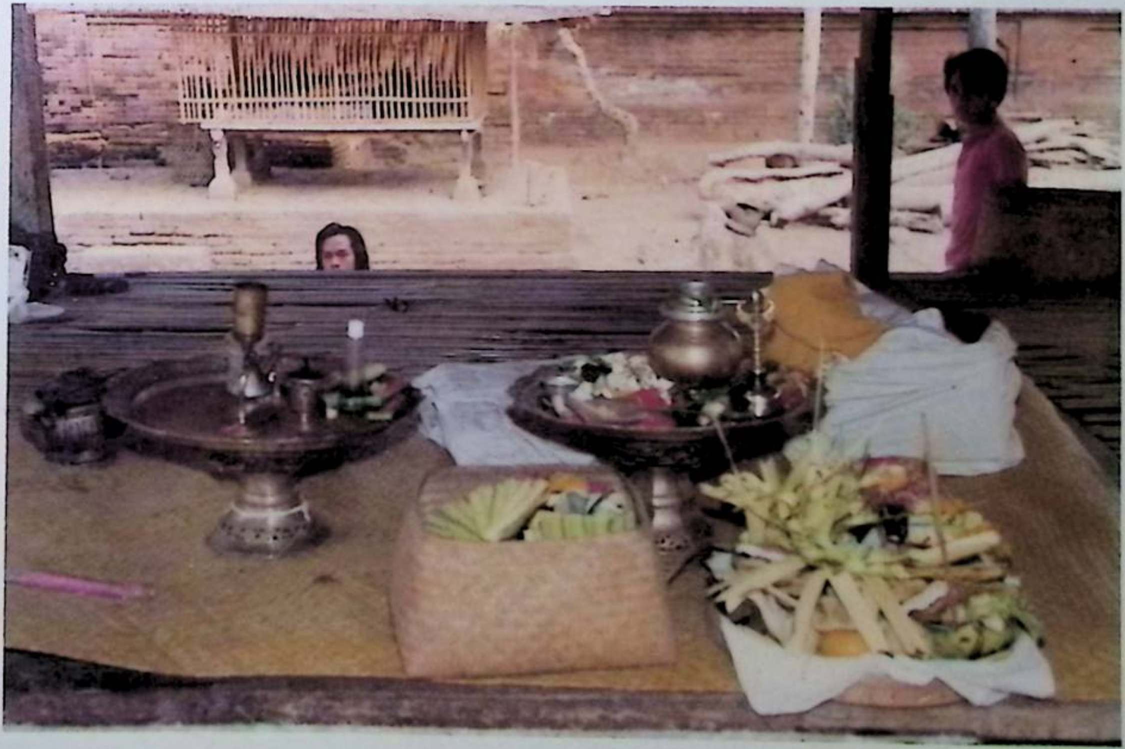
47. Cremation ceremony—funeral pyre being lit



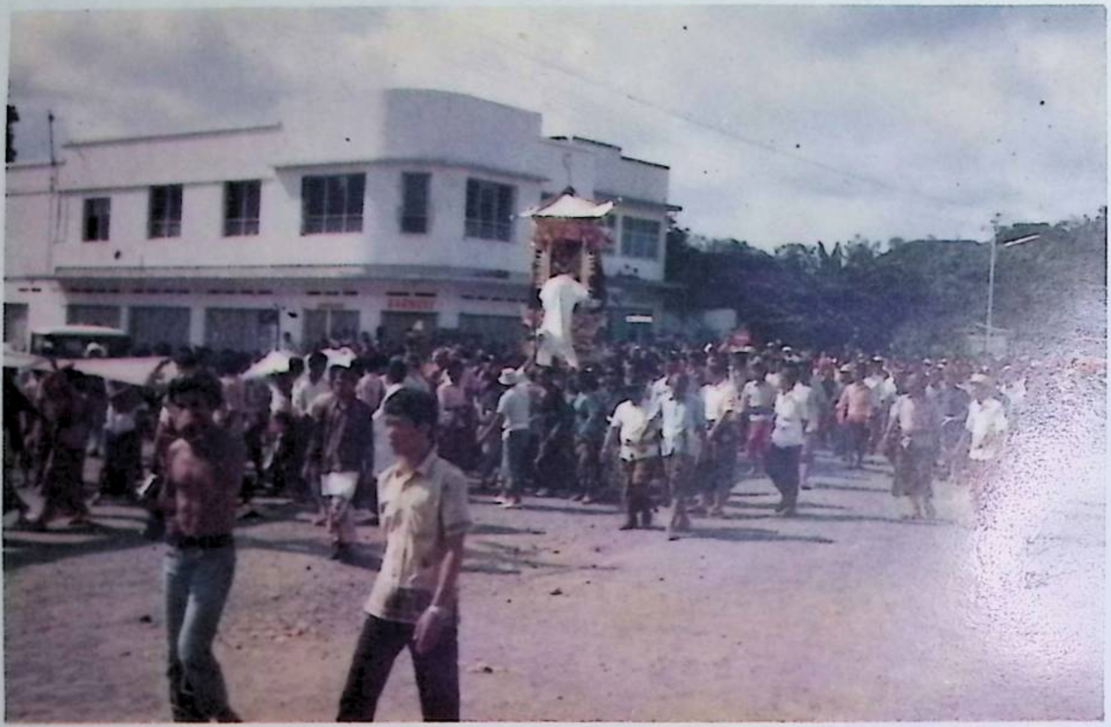
48. Śhiva Linga (Bedahulu)



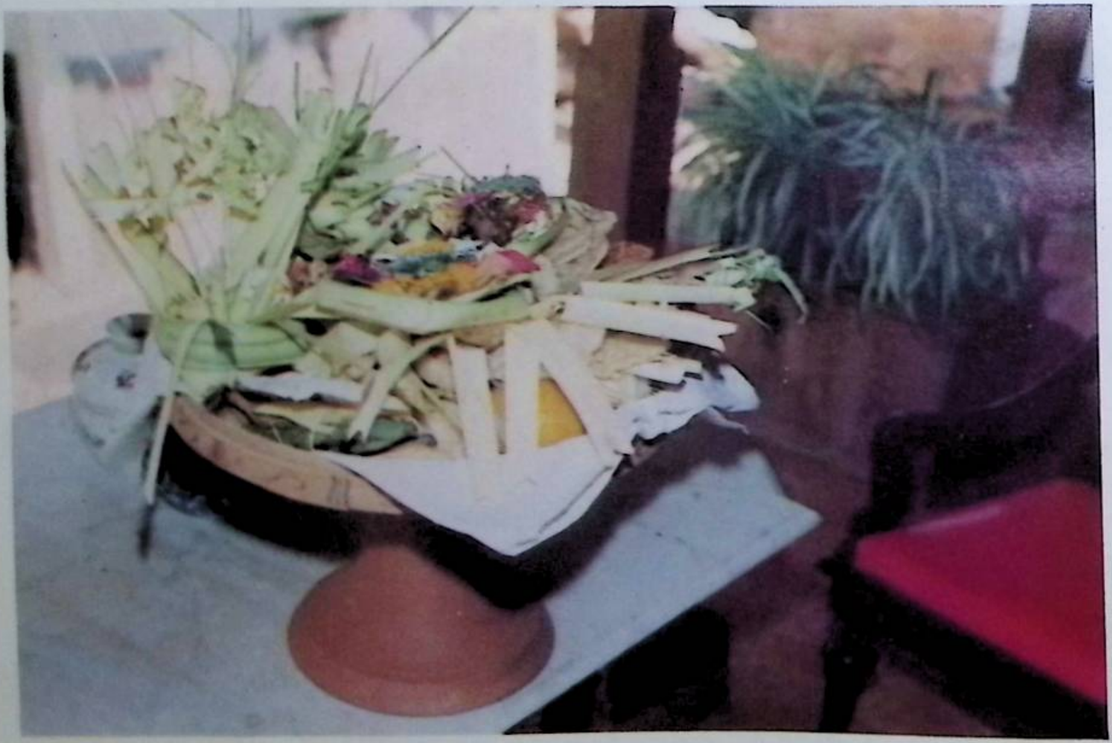
49. Offerings for Prāyaschitta ceremony



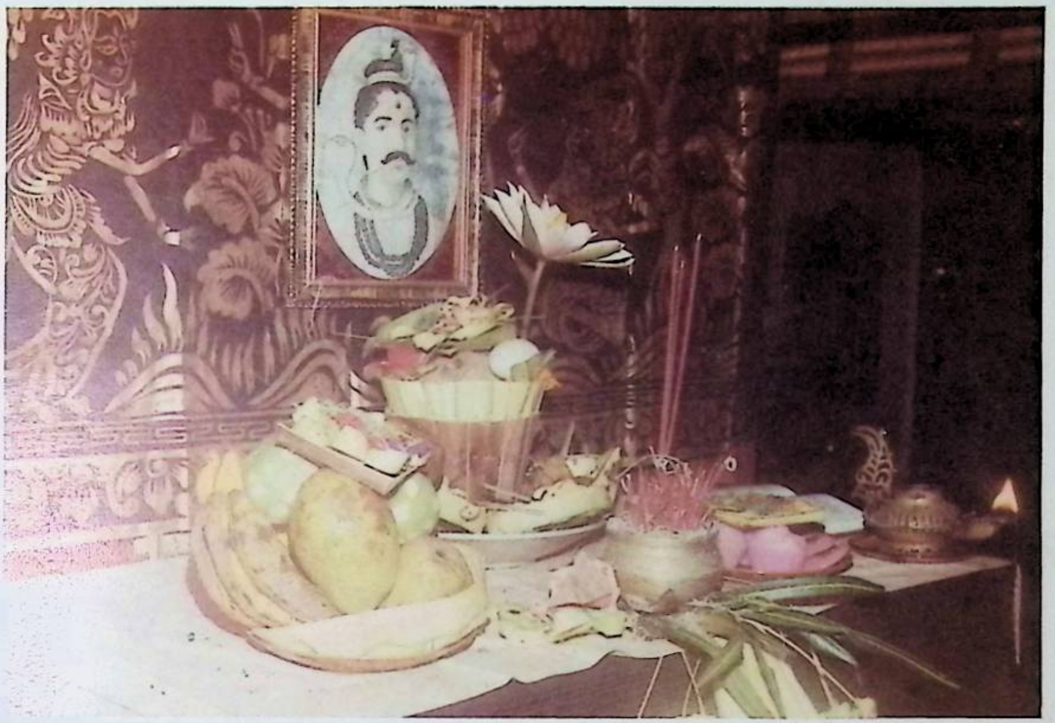
50. Preparations for the Pooja (Śiva Ratri)



51. Funeral procession heading towards the cremation ground. The dead body is put inside the cremation tower

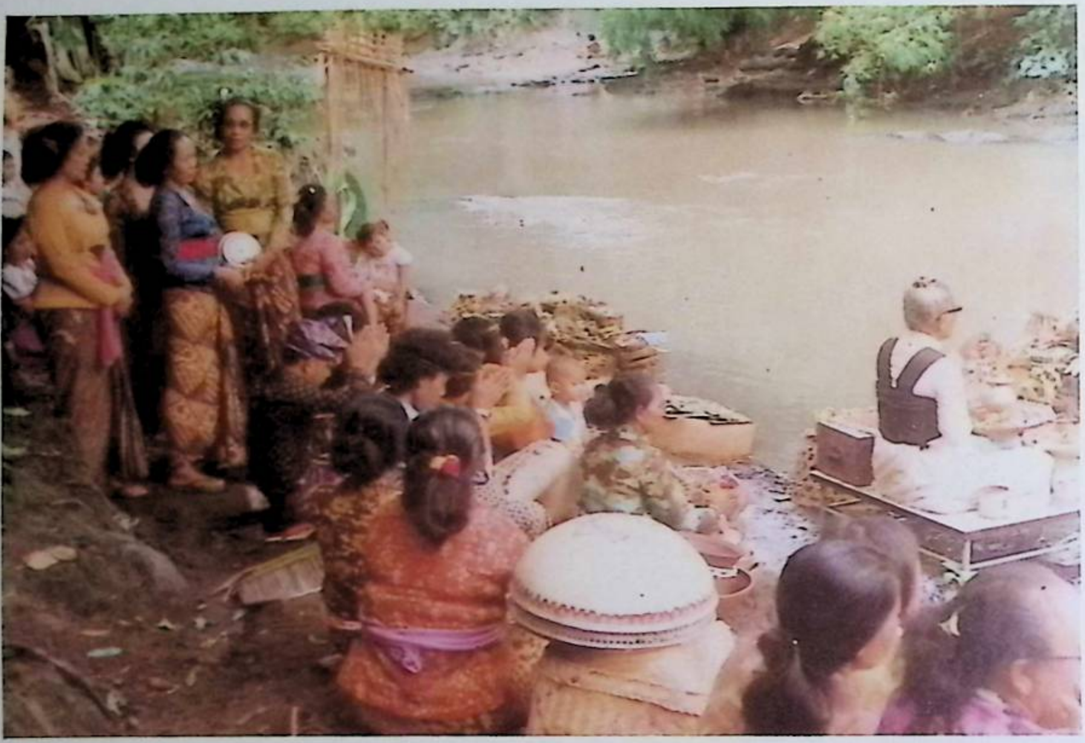


52. Offerings for the Upanayana Ceremony

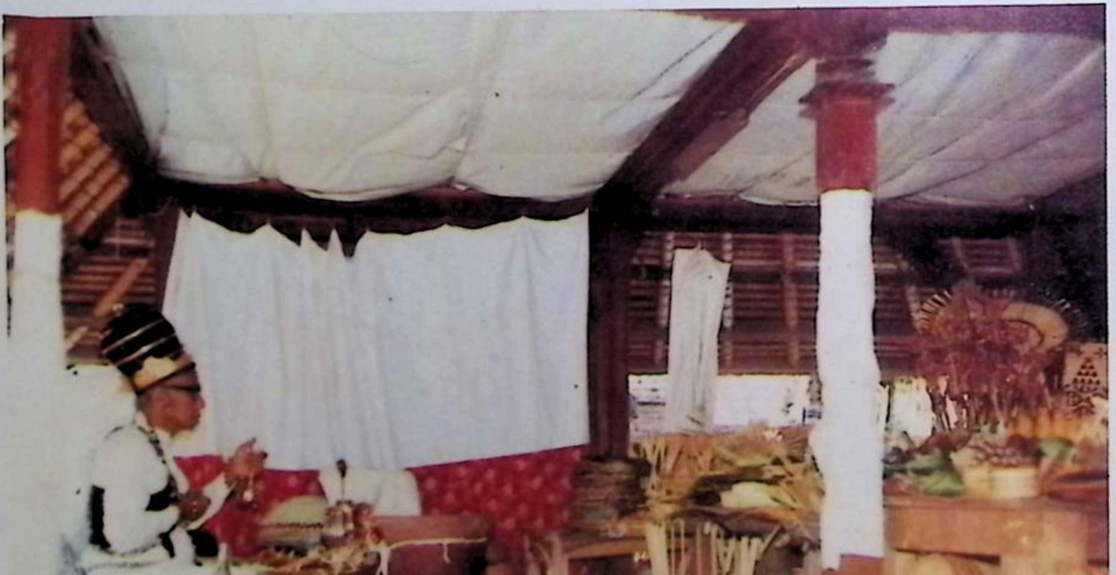


53. Offerings for 'Śiva Pooja

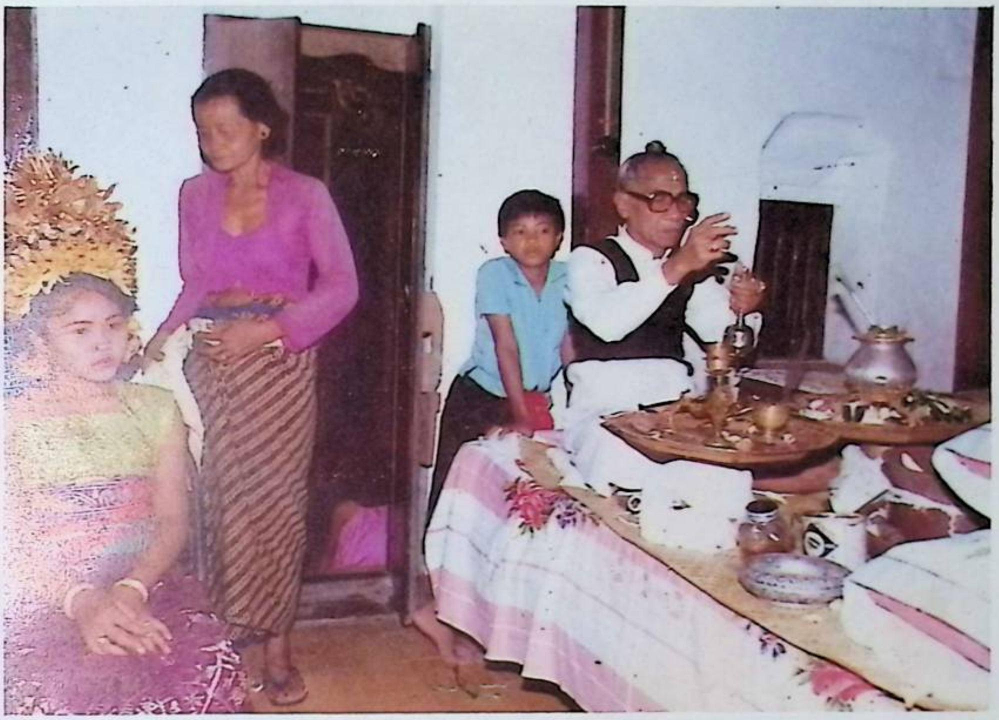
54. An old devotee performing the daily worship



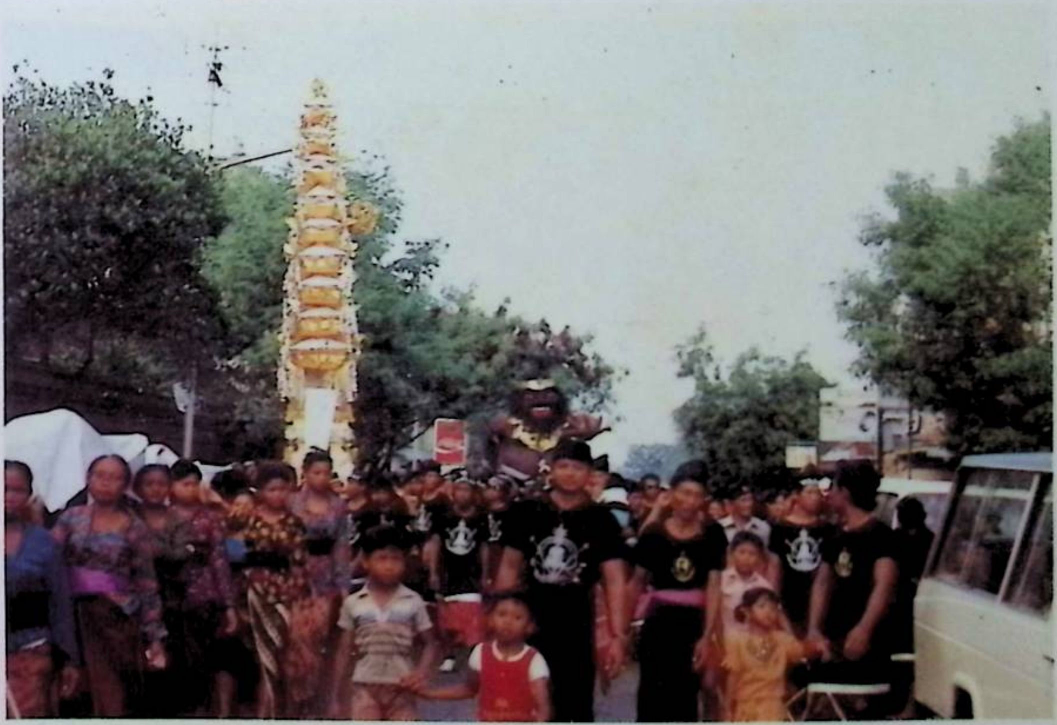
55. Masakapan Ke Tukad - a ceremony performed after the new born is six months old. This ceremony is popular particularly in South Bali where it is performed on river bank. Tiny boats are floated in the river to mark this occasion



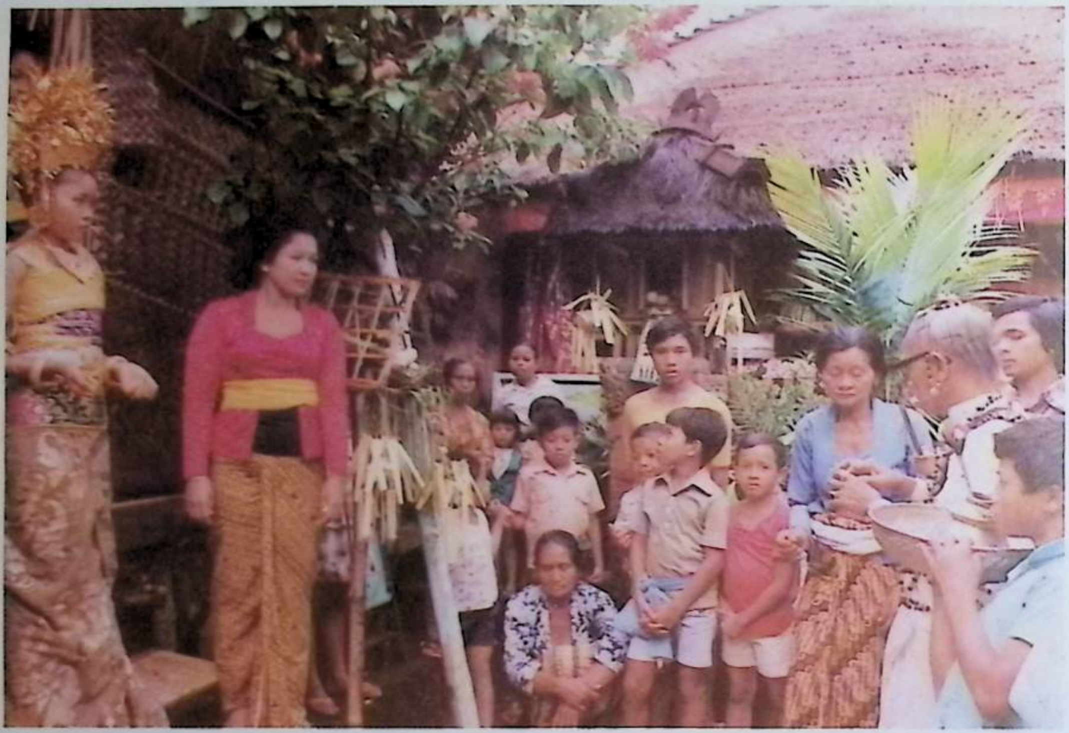
56. Devapooja ceremony. In the picture is shown a Pandita holding 'Ghanta' in his hand



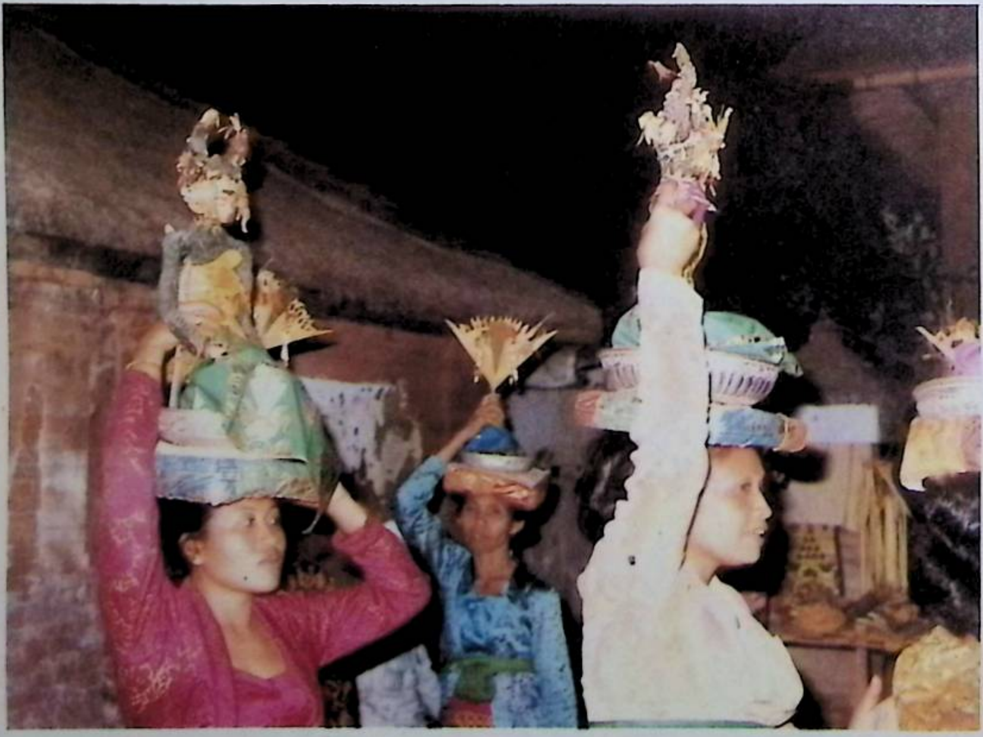
57. Rajaswala ceremony performed when girls attain the age of puberty. In the picture the girl is shown as robed in traditional clothes and the Pandit performing the Pooja



58. Mamukur Ṛsi-Bhojana ceremony, a part of the flower cremation. The puspasarira or the flower effigy is put inside the multi-towered structure shown in the picture



59. A girl coming out of her house after the Rajaswala ceremony and the Pundit receiving her. The girl has to stay inside her home for a week or at least three days after she attains the age of puberty

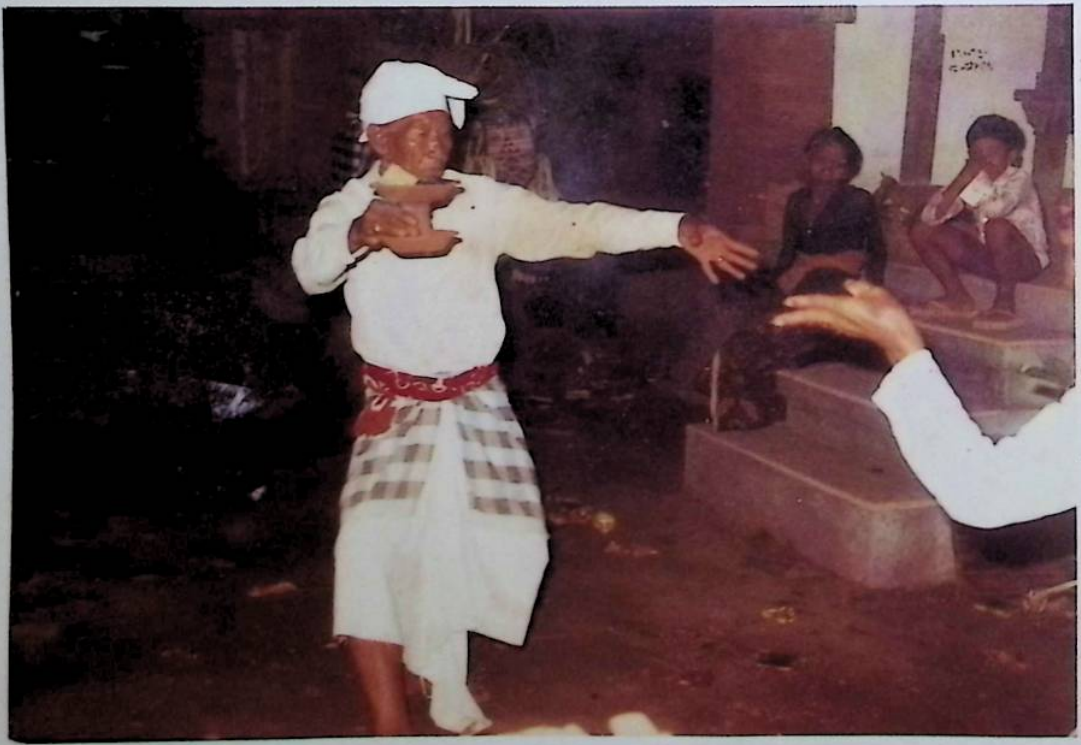


60. Devapooja—Devotees carrying the image of Goddess Śrī Sadana (Lakśmī) while performing Pradakṣina inside the temple

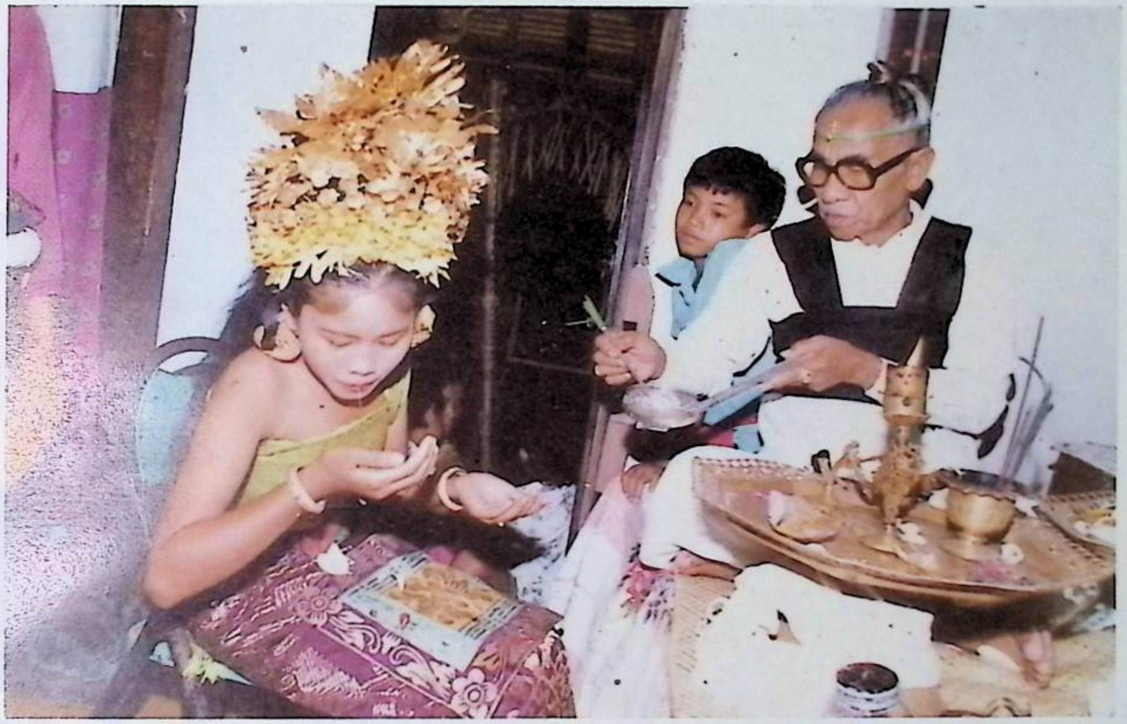
61. Devapooja—Devotees paying their offerings.

62. Devapooja—Devotees carrying the images of Gods while performing Pradakṣina. The images are being carried under the shadow of umbrellas

63. The Sadhakas (Sadeg), the village Priests, gathering to perform the temple ceremony

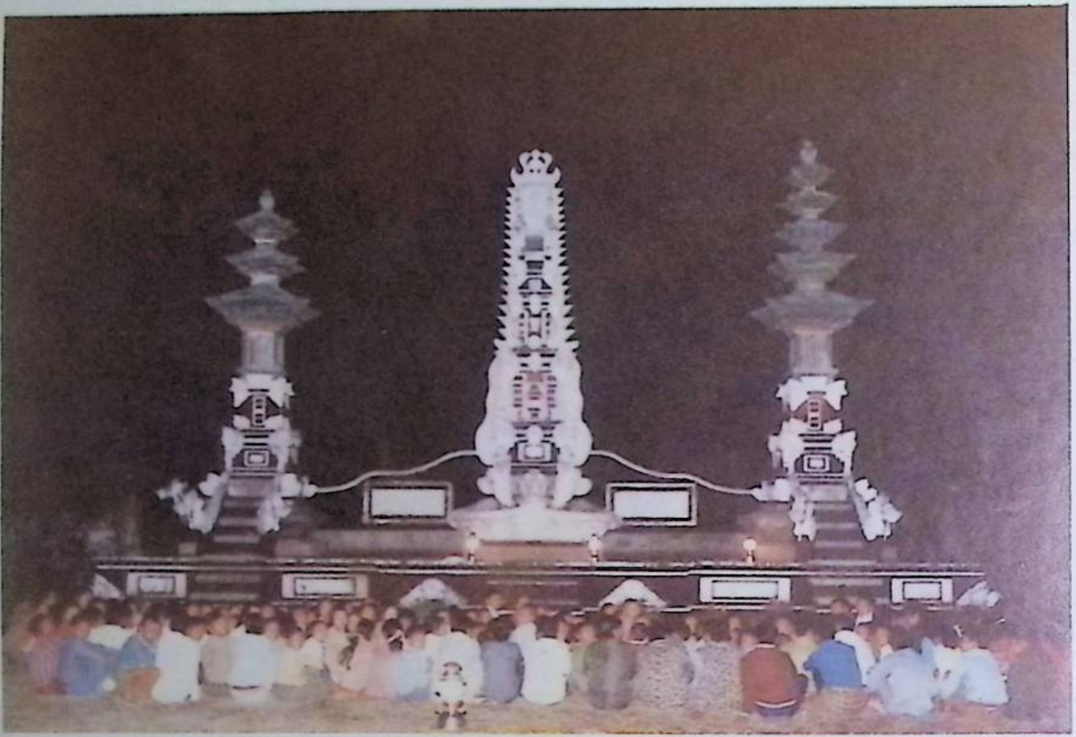


64. One of the Sadhakas in a dancing posture infront of the deity at the time of the temple ceremony. In one hand he is carrying red hot piece of charcoal

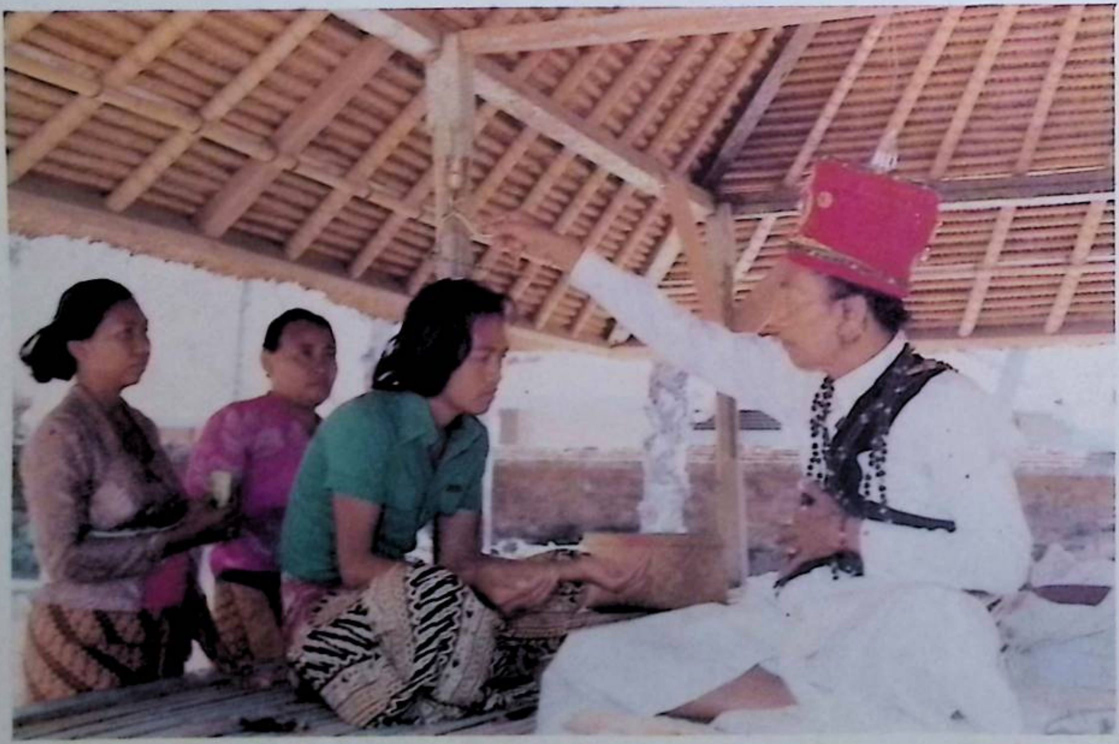


65. Rajaswala ceremony—A girl receiving holy water from the Pundit who is holding 'Kuśa' in his hand

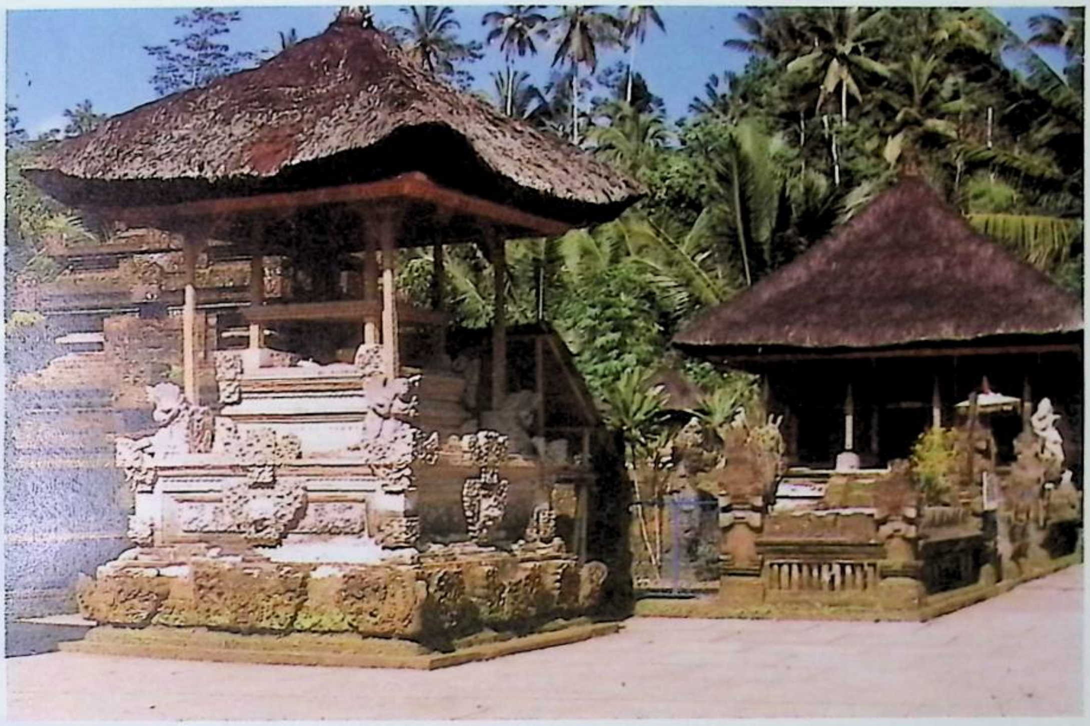
66. Devotees carrying holy water in earthern pots.



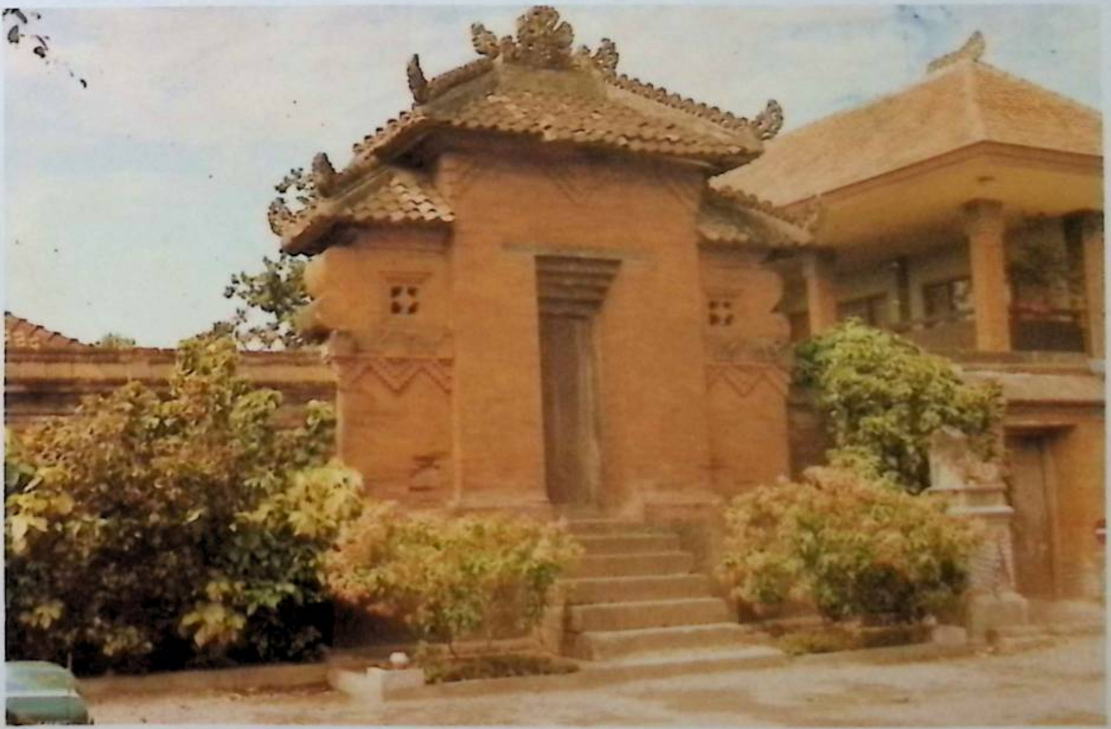
67. An East Javanese (Tengger) Temple. In the middle is shown the Padmāsana shrine flanked on either side by two Meru shrines



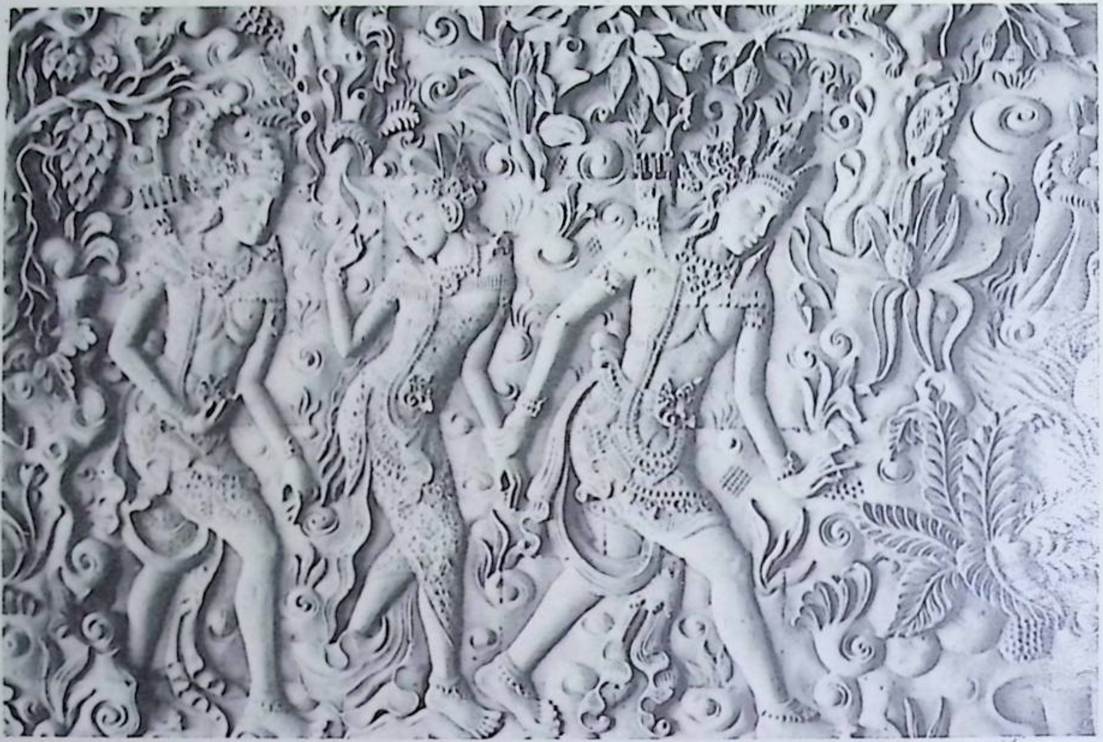
68. Mawinten (Upanayana) ceremony being performed by a High-Priest



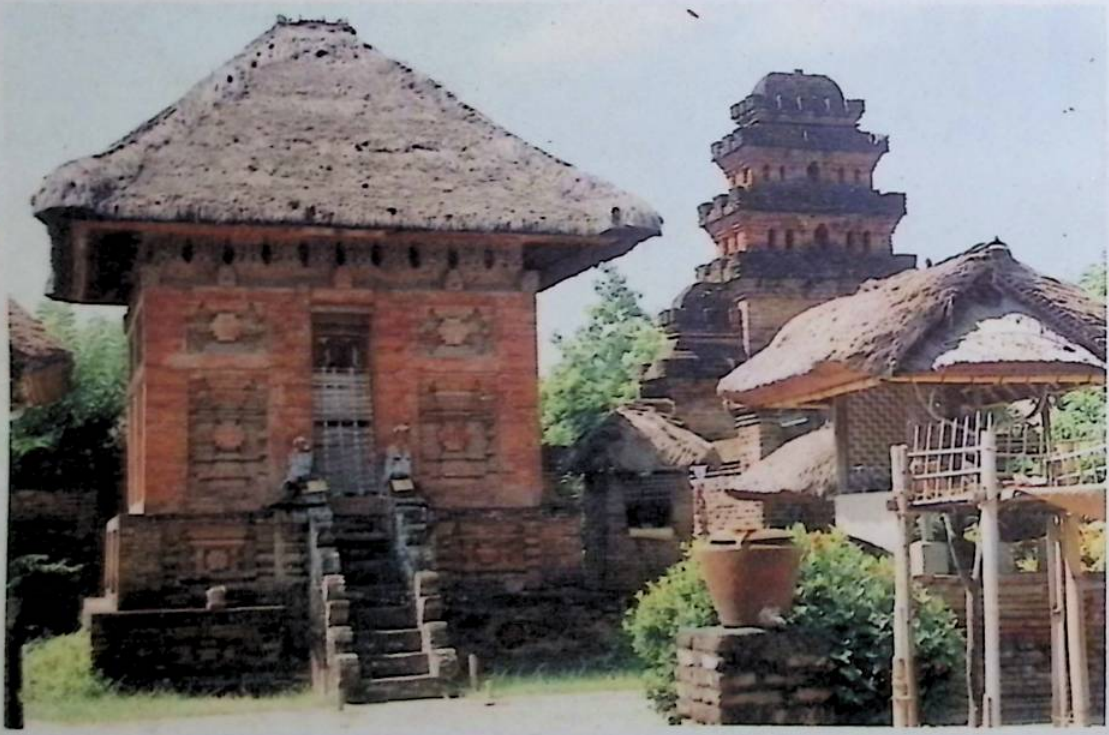
69. A Hindu temple built in the Majapahit style



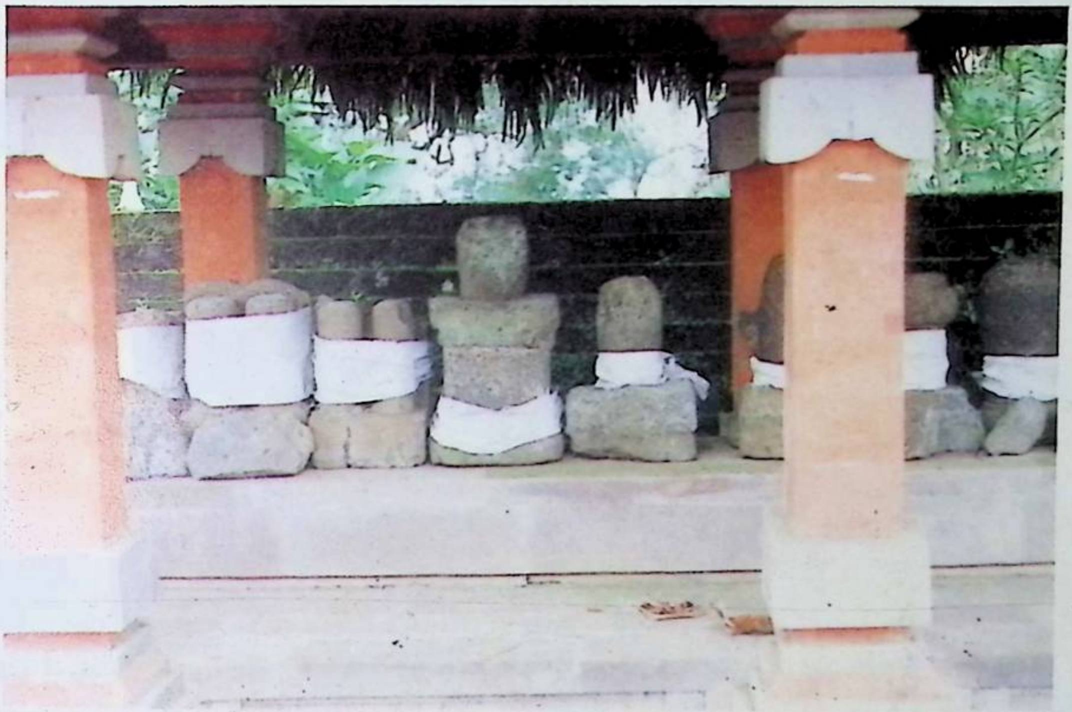
70. Main Gate of an upper-caste Hindu House-hold



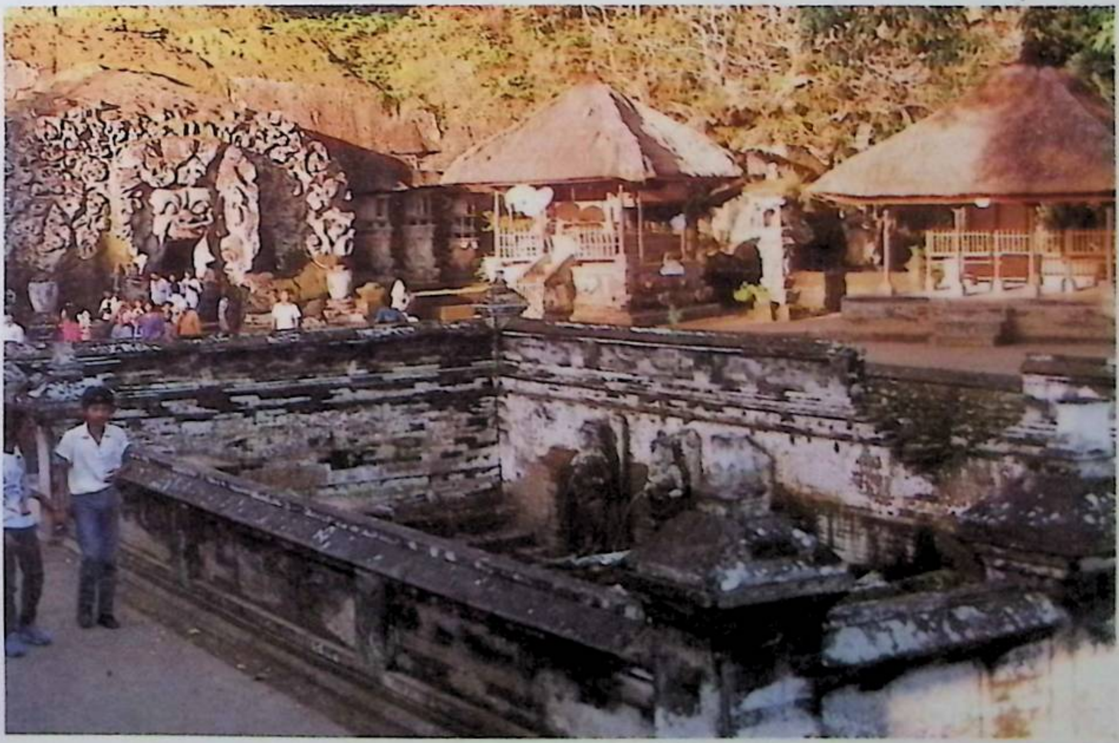
71. A traditional wooden carving showing Lord Rāma, accompanied by his wife Sitā and brother Lakṣmana, going to the forest



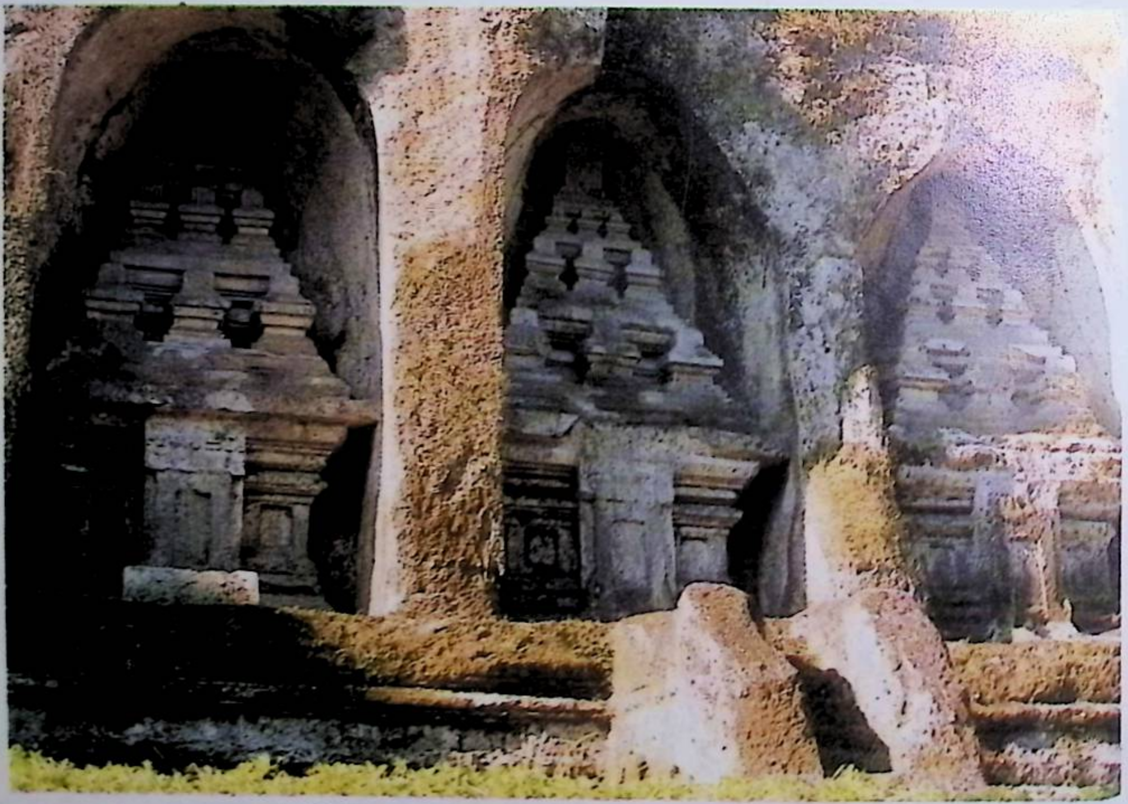
72. Gedong-shrine



73. Liṅga are shrined in the famous Basakih (Vasuki) temple in Bali popularly known as the Mother temple



74. Gu(h)a-gajah cave (10th century) at Bhedahuiu



75. Chandi Gunung Kawi (Rock-tombs) built in the 11th century

Dr. I.G.P. Phalgunadi, is a devoted researcher and scholar whose main mission in life is to reveal the various facets of Hindu religion and culture since early times at least to focus on relative aspects of Hindu religion in Bali-Indonesia.

His preference for his study of religion made him to specialize in Ancient Indian History. The present monograph is the revised version of his Ph.D. thesis which throws a new light on the relative aspects of Hindu religion in Bali, hitherto unknown. Born on 3 January, 1943 at Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia, Dr. I.G.P. Phalgunadi, obtained degree in Religion and Culture from Hindu Dharma Institute, Denpasar. Bali. The topic of his thesis was: *Tambang Badung Temple at a Glance.*

In 1978 he won a scholarship to persue his research work in India. For his research purposes he has travelled throughout India particularly the historical and holy places. He had visited most of the Capital of States in India except the North-east States.

Since a decade he has been moving between Delhi-Bodhgaya-Haridwar in search of his mission. For that he is aptly awarded scholarship by many private institutes as well as the Government of India:

1978-79 Scholarship from International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi.

1979-81 General Culture Scholarship Scheme from Government of India.

1981-85 General Culture Scholarship Scheme from Government of India.

1985-88 Senior Scholarship Holder from Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi.

He has translated: *The Indonesian Mahābhārata* Ādiparva—the First Book (published at Delhi, 1990). Besides many articles in different journals.

He has completed his *Study of South-east Asian Chronicle Pararaton* and translated: *The Indonesian Mahābhārata: Virāṭaparva* - the Fourth Book, to be published soon.

At present he is working on "The Kṛṣṇa Saga in Indonesia" under the supervision of the eminent scholar Professor Upendra Thakur.

ISBN 81-85067-65-

Sundeep Prakashan
Delhi